



Goodbye, Earl Warren

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In the view of Yale's law Prof. Fred Rodale—and doubtless it is the view of many liberals elsewhere—Earl Warren has been quite simply “the greatest chief justice in the nation's history.” It is an appraisal, one is bound to say, that gives a peculiar meaning to “greatness.”

If the word is taken to mean that the major opinions of the Warren Court were momentous, or had a massive impact upon American society, no informed observer would dissent. In the fields of race relations, legislative apportionment and criminal law, Warren and his brother activists wrought revolutionary change.

But “greatness” ordinarily connotes something more. Whatever the 15 years of the Warren Court may have imposed upon American institutions, for good or ill, these years have written a chronicle of disaster in the field of jurisprudence. The quintessential duty

of appellate judges is to say what the law *is*. This was never enough for Earl Warren. He used the awesome powers of his office to impose upon society what he (and his fellow liberals) felt the law ought to be.

If this were the criticism merely of a few malcontent Southerners, doubtless it could be dismissed out of hand. This is not the case. As far back as 1957 a special committee of the American Bar Association returned a blistering indictment against the cavalier tendencies of the Warren Court. In the summer of 1958, the Conference of (State) Chief Justices overwhelmingly adopted an unprecedented report from its committee on state and federal relations.

The measured verdict of the state chief justices, written 10 years ago, might have been written last week. These top appellate judges were gravely concerned that “individual

views of the members of the Court as to what is wise or desirable” had begun to override “a more dispassionate consideration of what is or is not constitutionally warranted.” The Warren Court was charged with “impatience,” with “a lack of self-control,” with “tending to adopt the role of policymaker without proper judicial restraint.”

The excesses that troubled the state chief justices in 1958 never were corrected. Under Warren, the tendencies formed a recurring pattern. The chief justice's approach to the law was simple, straightforward, and wrong.

For his approach (it is a grotesque thing to say of a chief justice) too often was the approach of the non-lawyer. He wanted always to do the decent thing, the good thing, the compassionate thing. What was fair? What was wise? Or in the alternative, what “shocked the conscience”? What was, in a recent case, “beyond belief”?

Thus Warren was concerned with “the hearts and minds” of Negro children. It was his own conscience that was shocked. It was his own mind that walled off the beliefs of others. The truth is that there never can be an absolute correlation between what is decent, good and fair, and what is lawful. Looking at school segregation, Warren concluded that the practice was morally wrong; therefore, in his view, it was unconstitutional. The non sequitur troubled him not at all.

In each of the landmark cases, Warren's purpose was to get those things done which he felt ought to be done. Dean Erwin Griswold, now solicitor general, has described such jurisprudence as “result-oriented,” and has warned that when decisions are overly influenced in that direction, “the law and the public are not well served.”

It is an attitude—this get-things-done attitude—that is especially to be con-



Liberals acclaim outgoing Chief Justice Warren as one of the greatest justices in history. Most conservatives disagree.

demned in the non-reviewable decisions of a Supreme Court, for it denies to the Congress, to the state legislatures, and to the people themselves through constitutional amendment, the powers that are rightfully theirs.

From within the nine-man Court, Warren's critics repeatedly voiced the same complaints. During this past term, Harlan denounced the Warren bloc for its “extravagant and unwise interpretation of the 5th Amendment.” White spoke of the bloc's “fuzzy ideology about confessions.” Even Fortas, in *Duncan vs. Louisiana*, could not stomach “an unnecessary and mischievous course that would inflict a serious blow upon the principles of federalism.”

So Warren departs. The greatest chief justice in our history? Not in the view of those who believe that judicial restraint stands high among the qualifications of men who assume judicial office. Restraint was a characteristic Earl Warren never knew.

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Capital Briefs

● Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), a leading Republican contender for the vice presidential nomination, may have blown his chances to get on a ticket with either Richard Nixon or Gov. Ronald Reagan. Aside from working out new ways to appease North Viet Nam, Percy recently praised the Supreme Court for its decisions relating to law enforcement. "I think the Supreme Court is tops in that field," said Percy. "I have never been able to attack the Supreme Court, even when talking to the most militant group of Republican women."

● How liberal is Gov. Nelson Rockefeller? Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the far-left historian who favors a Socialist America, told more than 50 editors at a Stanford University journalism program last week that Rocky is the only presidential candidate "who could handle both domestic and foreign policy wisely at this time." Schlesinger specifically stated he preferred Rocky to Reagan, Nixon, Humphrey or McCarthy.

● Here's one reason Schlesinger may favor Rocky: The governor recently defended Columbia's student rebels. Speaking in Denver, Colo., Rocky said he had to enter a sharp dissent with those who would "sweepingly dismiss and denounce the recent" turbulence at Columbia as a revolutionary act. While very lightly cautioning against violence, Rocky stated, "The spirit of protest and dissent—and the vigorous advocacy of change—are true and vital parts of the American tradition of freedom."

● Congressional investigators probing anti-poverty programs were recently startled when they walked into the offices of the Human Resources Administration, a New York City agency stacked with appointees of Mayor John Lindsay. Portraits of prominent leftists lined the walls, including that of Karl Marx. Also prominently displayed: an advertisement for a program featuring black racist Le Roi Jones and advocate of violence Tom Hayden.

● Senate liberals are thinking of pushing Sen. James Pearson (R-Kan.) as assistant Republican leader, a position now held by lame duck Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.). The Kansas lawmaker has become a rallying point for liberals in recent months, particularly since his stalwart support of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for President. Best bet to get the post, however, remains conservative Sen. Roman Hruska (R-Neb.).

● Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) will renew his battle to let children say prayers in the public schools. The GOP Senate leader plans to offer a constitutional amendment in the near future permitting anyone "lawfully assembled" in tax-supported buildings to join in a "non-denominational prayer."

● Cuban refugees are fuming over Fox Studio's plan to glorify Red revolutionary Che Guevara in an upcoming movie.

● Drew Pearson's grandson, who acted as an usher in the recent March on Washington, was beaten up by Negro toughs living in Resurrection City. According to Pearson, his grandson was cracked "over the neck and shoulder" with a club by one Negro, with another hitting him with another club. "A third," said Pearson, "threw a big rock which hit him in the back."

● Leaders of Students for a Democratic Society and other New Left groups have revived plans for massive protests at the Democratic National Convention next month. Rennie Davis, director of Chicago's Center for Radical Research, warns of possible violence: "If we are Maced and arrested by the Chicago police, we can't be held responsible for what happens."

● Frank Mankiewicz, press secretary to the late Sen. Robert Kennedy, is reportedly ready to challenge Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty in next year's election. Yorty is a maverick Democrat who clashed frequently with Kennedy. Also interested in the race is Rep. Thomas Rees.

● The Akron Beacon-Journal reported last week that a poll of Ohio's Republican delegates gives Nixon a lead of nearly 3 to 1 over Nelson Rockefeller. The paper said that despite Nixon's strength, Ohio Gov. James Rhodes could still deliver most of the votes to Rockefeller.

● Sen. Thruston Morton (Ky.), a key Rockefeller supporter, bravely told a Chicago press conference last week that Richard Nixon has a lead of only 100 delegates at this time. Privately, Morton admits that Rocky has no chance of winning the party's nomination.

● Ronald Reagan indicated last week that his name will not be put before the Republican National Convention if someone else—presumably Richard Nixon—has locked up the nomination in advance. Reagan told a Sacramento news conference: "Obviously, if the convention is going to be sewed up there is no sense in going down there and going through an empty gesture." (Reagan reports on his "Creative Society"; see page 11.)

● Rep. E. Ross Adair (R-Ind.) reports that "people in Washington are carrying a copy of the National Crime Commission's report. But not for what it says—it's big and handy for self-defense."

● "The case against the election of a Democratic Administration in November is formidable," writes the New York Times' James Reston. "This party came to power in 1960 arguing that American prestige had been severely damaged in the Eisenhower years, and in the last eight years that prestige has dropped to its lowest point in over a generation."

● Seven Minutemen have recently been found guilty in the U.S. District Court in Spokane, Wash., of conspiracy to rob four banks in order to bolster the coffers of their paramilitary organization.

● Mrs. Thomas W. Braden, who co-chaired the "People for Kennedy" committee in California, has now decided to create a similarly named committee for Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. An intimate of the Kennedy family, Mrs. Braden is the wife of the wealthy California publisher who has long dabbled in liberal causes.

Court Controversy Escalates

Chief Justice Earl Warren's announced intention to resign from the Supreme Court is causing one of the biggest political controversies in recent memory. There is not only the prickly question as to whether Warren has technically resigned because of the exchange of ineptly worded letters between himself and LBJ, but the more important fact that a filibuster-minded minority is intent on blocking the President from selecting a new chief justice and appointing a new associate justice to fill the vacancy that will occur when Warren actually leaves the Bench.

Opposition to court appointments by a President has rarely been so intense. But a strong-willed conservative coalition in the Senate, that believes the facts irrefutably prove that the courts are largely responsible for the hideous amount of lawlessness and subversion sweeping the country, most emphatically desires a changed Supreme Court.

Moreover, this coalition doesn't believe the High Court will change for the better if the Senate approves LBJ's nomination of Associate Justice Abe Fortas to become chief justice. Nor is it willing to endorse the President's choice of federal judge Homer Thornberry to be the new associate justice.

Not only are LBJ's appointees considered too liberal, but many senators resent the President's using the Supreme Court to give cronies like Fortas and Thornberry prestigious and powerful positions in the American government.

Despite some obstacles there is every reason to believe the Senate conservatives will prevail. While Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has been pressuring both Republicans and Democrats to go along with his old friend LBJ, Senators Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) and George Murphy (R.-Calif.) have gotten 19 Republicans to sign a statement declaring they will not approve any Supreme Court appointment until the next President is elected. Some Democrats are also expected to follow suit.

Many on this list of 19, including Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), have promised to lead a filibuster if the President should try to ram his appointments through the Senate. Whether he can is problematical. But the conservative coalition would find their hand greatly strengthened if voters around the country would back them up with letters to their senators. If the 19 stand firm, the chances are excellent of blocking LBJ's attempt to keep the Supreme Court packed with ideological liberals and Texas cronies.

• The following are the 19 GOP senators who have so far said they will definitely not vote for any LBJ nominations to the Supreme Court:

Allott (Colo.), Baker (Tenn.), Bennett (Utah), Carlson (Kans.), Cotton (N.H.), Curtis (Neb.), Fannin (Ariz.), Fong (Hawaii), Griffin (Mich.), Hansen (Wyo.), Jordan (Idaho), Miller (Iowa), Morton (Ky.), Mundt (Neb.), Murphy (Calif.), Thurmond (S.C.), Tower (Tex.), Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Fortas: LBJ's 'Mr. Fixit'

LBJ's tapping of Abe Fortas to be the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court is looked upon as more than the President's typical reverting to "cronism." For Fortas is not only LBJ's "Mr. Fixit," but an ideological liberal whose decisions have been crucial in turning criminals loose in the land and breaking down America's security regulations against subversives.



FORTAS

Fortas, for example, cast a key vote in the famous *Miranda vs. Arizona* confessions decision in June 1966. That ruling, decided by a 5-to-4 vote, virtually barred the use of even freely given confessions from use in the federal and state courts. Charles E. Moylan Jr., state's attorney for the city of Baltimore, Md., testified before Congress that he had to let go murderers and thieves because of *Miranda*. His testimony as to the effects of *Miranda* has been corroborated by dozens of other prosecuting attorneys.

Fortas also displayed his ultra-liberalism when he

sided with Chief Justice Earl Warren in the December 1967 Frank Robel case. In that amazing decision, Warren struck down a section of the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act barring admitted Communists from working in defense establishments.

Warren, with Fortas in total agreement, ruled that even though there was no question that Robel was a Communist, the law was improper because it did not take into account the commitment of Robel to communism. If he were only a "passive" Communist, Warren strongly implied, Congress could never prevent him from working in sensitive security positions.

These two rulings alone are solid reasons why the Senate should refuse to confirm Fortas as a replacement for Warren.



But Fortas is objectionable on other grounds as well.

The associate justice has long been LBJ's little problem solver. The first prominent legal service Fortas performed for LBJ was in 1948, when LBJ squeezed out a victory over Coke Stevenson in the Texas Democratic Senate primary by 87 highly controversial votes. The primary victory then was tantamount to election. LBJ's election was so tainted with fraud, however, that a federal district judge enjoined the state from printing ballots designating LBJ as the Democratic nominee until there was an investigation of vote-fraud charges.

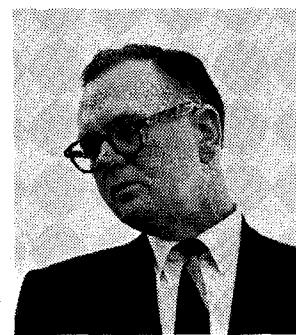
As LBJ's friend, however, Fortas rushed to the Supreme Court and convinced Justice Hugo Black, sitting as a one-man court, to set aside the lower court's order as an unwarranted interference with state election procedures. Thus, LBJ was put on the ballot as the official Democratic nominee and won in the general election—his start on the road to the presidency.

Throughout the years, Fortas has attempted to bail LBJ out of one jam after another. The *Washington Evening Star*, for example, was on the verge of breaking the story that Johnson protege Bobby Baker had "persuaded" insurance man Don Reynolds to purchase an \$800 stereo set for Lyndon as part of a kickback for LBJ's having taken out several life insurance policies with Reynolds, when Fortas intervened. He tried, unsuccessfully, to quash the story with a phone call to the *Star's* editor. (Fortas, himself, had been Baker's attorney.)

Along with Clark Clifford, Fortas descended on the Washington newspapers again when they were about to break the story that LBJ aide Walter Jenkins had been a homosexual. And it was Fortas who managed to manipulate much of the news surrounding LBJ's personal life.

Fortas has also been a controversial figure because of his ties with the extreme left. Fortas helped Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White, both Soviet agents, draft the United Nations Charter. He appeared as counsel for Owen Lattimore and other figures of the far left and made many links with Communist associations over the years.

In the early 1940s Fortas joined the Washington



JENKINS



BAKER

Committee for Democratic Action, later listed as subversive by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark. In the 1930s Fortas was affiliated with the National Lawyers Guild, subsequently found subversive by Congress.

Fortas, notes the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, had his name on a 1942 letterhead of the International Juridical Association along with persons who had "records as members of the Communist party," including Nathan Witt and Lee Pressman. The IJA was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as an organization which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist party line."

He was also a supporter of the Communist-infiltrated Institute of Pacific Relations and in 1947 endorsed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, three years after it had been dubbed a Red front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In short, because of his liberal decisions, because he has been LBJ's crony and because of his extremist ties, the Senate should pointedly refuse to elevate Fortas to chief justice.

Texas Crony Rewarded

LBJ's nomination of Homer Thornberry to be associate justice on the Supreme Court should also be resolutely rejected by the Senate on the grounds he is both a liberal and another Johnson crony. For 20 years Thornberry has been considered one of LBJ's closest friends.



THORNBERRY

They actually met more than 45 years ago when Thornberry was a page in the Texas legislature and LBJ was around because his father was a member. Thornberry succeeded LBJ to his House seat in 1948. When Sen. Johnson was recuperating from a heart attack in 1955, Thornberry visited with him by the hour, and Thornberry was on the plane in Dallas when LBJ was sworn in as President.

In Congress, Thornberry became one of the small group of men the late Speaker Sam Rayburn gathered about him to push through liberal legislation. As a member of the Rules Committee, Thornberry helped to bust up the conservative coalition that was in control. Rep. Richard Bolling (D.-Mo.), a leading House liberal who sat beside Thornberry on the Rules Committee, called him a "constructive liberal."

According to Americans for Constitutional Action, the Texas lawmaker averaged a lowly 16 per cent on ACA's conservative scoreboard from 1957 through 1962, receiving only a 5 per cent rating for his final two years in Congress, 1961 through 1962.

The *Washington Post*, which should know a liberal when it spots one, says that a quick look at Thornberry's opinions on the Fifth Circuit Court—to which he was appointed by LBJ—"suggests a liberal stance on civil liberties and civil rights."

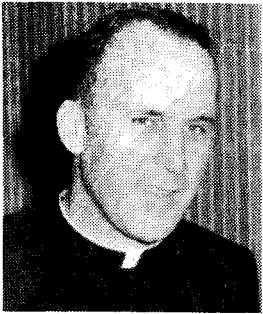
He participated in the writing of a controversial ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans, March 29, 1967, which declared that the desegregation of Southern schools was not enough. "Public school boards and officials have the affirmative duty under the 14th Amendment," he said, "... to bring about an integrated, unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools—just schools."

Last December when an anti-war group demonstrating against President Johnson at Killeen, Tex.,

was arrested on disturbing the peace charges, Thornberry headed a three-judge court that struck down the ordinance as "unconstitutionally broad." Thus, like Fortas, Thornberry appears to be a "judicial activist" who will, if appointed, keep the court in its liberal fold.

Trudeau's Leftist Record

Pierre-Elliott Trudeau has been able to woo both the grown-ups and bobby soxers in his own country, but there is growing concern elsewhere regarding the leftist activities of Canada's flashy new prime minister.



LYONS

Father Daniel Lyons, S.J., an expert on Asian affairs, reveals that Trudeau was an ardent admirer of Mao Tse-tung when the Communists took over Shanghai in 1950. On returning to Montreal in 1951, Father Lyons continues, Trudeau founded *Cite Libre*, a journal with a strong leftist slant.

Among those who collaborated closely with him were such leading members of the Communist party as Stanley Ryerson, its top theoretician and editor of the *Marxist Review*; Pierre Galina, director of agitation and propaganda for the Communist party in Quebec; and Prof. Raymond Boyer, who was convicted of Soviet espionage.

In 1952 Trudeau led a delegation of Communists to the Economic Conference in Moscow. In 1953 he was barred from the United States as an "inadmissible" person. In 1955 he launched *Le Ressement*, a front for the far left. In 1960 he led a Communist delegation to Peking for a Red victory celebration, and in 1961 he was intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard while he was trying to get to Cuba. In the same year he joined a group of Marxists in writing a book entitled *Social Purpose for Canada*. The charter written by Trudeau praises Mao and urges the Socialists not to "water down" their socialism.

Father Lyons warns that the United States depends more on Canada than we do on any other country. "We have," he says, "invested \$21 billion there, more than in all of Europe combined. . . ."

"I am not trying to argue that Mr. Trudeau is a Communist. But to concerned Americans, as well as Canadians, he certainly bears watching. All the more so since so many people lack any concern."

The 'Times,' Berets and Hair

What are the standards by which the New York *Times* judges a film or a play? Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) wondered aloud last week as he noted the contrasting reviews given to *The Green Berets*, a portrait of American courage and valor in Viet Nam that stars he-man John Wayne, and the Broadway musical, *Hair*, billed as a "love-rock" musical.

The New York *Times* reviewer, noted Thurmond, had pilloried poor Wayne in a merciless manner. *The Green Berets*, said the *Times*, "is a film so unspeakable, so stupid, so rotten and false in every detail that it passes through being fun, through being funny, through being camp, through being everything and becomes an invitation to grieve not for our soldiers or for Viet Nam . . . but for what has happened to the fantasy-making apparatus in this country. Simplicity of the right, simplicity of the left, but this one is beyond the possible. It is vile and insane. On top of that, it is dull."

Could a Wayne flick, Thurmond pondered, really be all that bad? Maybe it could be vile. Maybe it could be insane. But Wayne, he figured, could never be "dull." And certainly it would be difficult for a film to be vile, insane and dull simultaneously.

Believing that the "pro-American" attitude in *The Green Berets*, rather than the intrinsic merit of the story line, is what prompted the *Times* review, Thurmond became curious as to what the *Times* really

believes to be good entertainment. He found a clue as to the *Times'* taste in its coverage of *Hair*, which received an ecstatic endorsement.

"What is so likeable about *Hair*," asked the *Times'* reviewer, "that tribal rock musical that Monday completed its trek from downtown, via a discotheque and landed, positively panting with love and smelling of sweat and flowers, at the Biltmore Theatre? I think it is simply that it is so likeable. So new, so fresh, and so unassuming, even in its pretensions."

Now, just what makes *Hair* so likeable? Well, Thurmond observed, the reviewer couldn't spell that out completely because the *Times* is a "family newspaper." But the reviewer gives a stab at a description:

"A great many four-letter words, such as 'love,' are used very freely. At one point—in what is later affectionately referred to as 'the nude scene'—a number of men and women (I should have counted) are seen totally nude and full, as it were, face.

"Frequent references—frequent approving references—are made to the expanding benefits of drugs. Homosexuality is not frowned upon—one boy announces he is in love with Mick Jagger, in terms unusually frank. The American flag is not desecrated—that would be a Federal offense, wouldn't it?—but it is used in a manner that not everyone would call respectful. Christian ritual also comes in for a bad time, the author approves enthusiastically of miscegenation, and one enterprising lyric catalogues somewhat arcane sexual practices more familiar to the pages of the *Kama Sutra* than the New York *Times*. So there—you have been warned. Oh yes, they also hand out flowers."

Commented Thurmond: "So there we have the story of *Hair*, at least insofar as it is fit to print. This is fresh and frank and likeable. But a movie about honor and glory and courage and loyalty and duty and country is a film that is unspeakable, stupid, rotten, false, vile and insane. I think now we have a clear picture of the standards of criticism used by the New York *Times* reviewers."

Gangland Subsidy

Sen. John McClellan's Permanent Investigations subcommittee, which in the past has delved into the dealings of such shady institutions as the Mafia and Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters Union, last week plunged into another dark aspect of American society, the street gang. The immediate subjects for investigation were two Chicago gangs, the Blackstone Rangers and the Disciples, and what they did with money received from the federal government's anti-poverty fount, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

The testimony was always fascinating, but sharply conflicting; yet some unassailable facts stood out. Among them was the certainty that OEO had given the two gangs nearly \$1 million in poverty funds, all the while the Rangers and Disciples were engaging in criminal activities from dope peddling to murder.

One avowed purpose of the OEO grant was to "buy peace" in Chicago's Woodlawn section on the West Side, the "turf" ruled by the two gangs. But the effort was hardly successful, as crime in Woodlawn doubled during the "pacification program" and some 29 killings have been attributed to warfare between the Disciples and Rangers.

Out of the \$1-million OEO grant came funds for salaries ranging up to \$6,500—almost as much as a starting Chicago public school teacher—for gang-leaders-turned-poverty-warriors who were virtually illiterate. The two Rangers who headed the Woodlawn OEO project were Eugene "Bull" Hairston and Jeff Fort. Hairston was recently convicted of soliciting a 14-year-old boy to kill three men and Fort, a fourth-grade dropout whose IQ is estimated at 48, was under probation when hired for the OEO project.

Star witness at the Senate hearings was the Rev. John Fry, minister of the First Presbyterian Church in the Woodlawn area and adviser to the Rangers.

According to testimony, Fry used money from his church's Teen Education Fund to bail gang mem-

bers out of jail and pay lawyer fees at their court appearances. He did this, Fry explained, because "our church . . . refused to go along with a racist system." And as for the charge against Hairston for soliciting to murder, Fry said only, "He has never lied to me. . . . He says he is innocent and I believe him."

Two other witnesses appeared before the McClellan committee to give another view of the Rangers—and of Rev. Fry. The first was George "Mad Dog" Rose, a former Ranger "strong arm" man who has severed his ties with the gang. Rose testified that the Rangers used Fry's church to store up an arsenal and to plan their various criminal activities. This was all done, said Rose, with Rev. Fry's complete knowledge. Rose, in fact, went so far as to charge Fry with complicity in an order to murder a local non-gang dope peddler.

The other witness was Mrs. Annabelle Martin, mother of eight Ranger members, who said three of her boys were paid one dollar apiece to participate in the killing of a dope peddler, a murder ordered by gang leader Hairston. Mrs. Martin also revealed she had bought ammunition for the Rangers and delivered it to the church in Fry's presence.

Rev. Fry categorically denied all these allegations and claimed both hostile witnesses were paid police informers.

Resurrection City Folds

Resurrection City has been unresurrected. A barren, grassless, hardpacked dirt plain is now left beside the Reflecting Pool where once stood the fiasco-ridden focal point of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor Peoples' March on Washington. The end was well-coordinated, painless and, to the extent the word still obtains these days, nonviolent.



ABERNATHY

March leader Rev. Ralph Abernathy led about 200 of his followers to Capitol Hill, with less than 100 remaining behind in the A-frame and plywood shantytown at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial. At the Capitol Abernathy's group was routinely denied entrance to the grounds, then ceremoniously, gently and exhaustingly arrested one by one.

Meanwhile, back at the camp, Washington police methodically moved through the city, arresting those who had chosen to remain and beginning the dismantling of the Poor Peoples' temporary homes. Next day the bulldozers and government workers appeared to complete the decline and fall of Resurrection City.

It was apparent to almost everyone that the end of the city's brief saga had been carefully worked out between march officials and D.C. police. There were, however, a few local hotheads who did not get the message and threatened a repeat of Washington's April "civil disorders." Unlike the April situation, however, D.C. police and National Guardsmen moved quickly, with force and tear gas, to break up unruly gatherings and hostile crowds. A few bricks were thrown and some windows broken, but otherwise all was quiet.

While Resurrection City has expired and temporary calm now soothes Washington residents, more demonstrations are still in the offing. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, now in jail and supposedly "fasting," apparently does not know when to quit and promises to turn on the heat once he is sprung loose again.

Meredith Separator Co. of Kansas City, Mo., advertised several items in the *Human Events* issue of March 2, 1968. Any reader who placed an order with this company and has never received the merchandise is asked to send full details to the Advertising Department, *Human Events*.

POLITICS '68

HHH MOVES LEFT

In ardently wooing leftist delegates and voters, **Hubert Humphrey** is refurbishing his own liberalism and is now sounding almost as radical as Sen. Eugene McCarthy, his chief rival for the Democratic presidential nomination.



HUMPHREY

Humphrey has revived talk that he will develop, if he has the chance, a "Marshall Plan" for U.S. cities, and just last week in Denver he proposed that every American child be guaranteed an education from the time he is four years old until he finishes college, with the federal government picking up the tab wherever necessary.

In a recent interview with the New York Times, the vice president also said he favored promoting trade with both Red China and Communist Cuba. "I think we must initiate a constant, persistent effort to open up China," he declared. "... I don't mean just cultural exchanges, I don't mean just journalist exchanges, doctors and educators—I mean commerce. . . ."

Asked specifically about our embargo against Red China, Humphrey claimed: "I think that is not serving our national interest. I think that on strategic goods, yes, we must have an embargo. But to embargo, for example, the sale of foodstuffs, or soft goods, is no longer relevant to the kind of world in which we live."

The vice president also suggested he might be for lifting our trade embargo against Castro's Cuba. He said trade should "be examined. I don't think that you just blindly say never."

In short, the more that Humphrey emerges from LBJ's shadow, the more Humphrey seems to revert to type, the fiery liberal who wants to remake America in the image of the Americans for Democratic Action.

LINDSAY FOR MCCARTHY?

Insiders in Sen. Eugene McCarthy's (D-Minn.) camp told Human Events last week they expect New York Mayor **John Lindsay** to at least tacitly endorse McCarthy for President if Richard Nixon wins the Republican nomination.



LINDSAY

While he is now supporting Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Lindsay has also been singing the praises of the liberal Minnesota senator. The mayor has noted he shares McCarthy's anti-Viet Nam war views and states that the Minnesotan's campaign has given young people "a new faith in the American system."

Other signs that Lindsay may turn to the McCarthy-for-President campaign abound. Lindsay's twin brother, David, is sponsor of the **Republicans-for-McCarthy Committee** (which has recommended a McCarthy-Lindsay ticket), while many of the mayor's key appointees are playing major roles in the McCarthy campaign.

One of the mayor's assistants, **Werner L. Kramarsky**, is a Democrat who has organized McCarthy workers in six states. Deputy Mayor Robert W. Sweet and Sid Davidoff, a mayoral assistant, visited McCarthy headquarters recently to congratulate the Minnesotan on his primary victory.

Other Lindsay aides working for McCarthy include Deputy Mayor Timothy W. Costello; Relocation Commissioner Frank Arricale; special assistant Lewis Feldstein, whose secretary is working full time for the senator; Deputy City Administrator Phillip Finklestein; public relations director of the Parks Department, Mary Nichols; Martin Friedheim of the Bureau of the Budget, and Peter Piscitelli, one of the mayor's legislative representatives.

The New York Times reports that Lindsay is more willing to let his aides work for McCarthy than he was to let them campaign for Nelson Rockefeller two years ago.

The faces of the young McCarthy volunteers in New York, says the Times, were also familiar to reporters who covered Lindsay in 1965. Louis Douglas, for example, who was the mayor's student coordinator three years ago, is now in the McCarthy campaign. "Many lower-level city employees, including civil service workers," the Times quotes a Lindsay aide as saying, "also took leaves of absence to aid in the New York campaign."

In the last week of the recent New York primary, the aide continued, "you couldn't find anyone in the Park Department. They were all out ringing doorbells for McCarthy."

ROCKY'S SPENDING

In order to wrest the Republican nomination from former Vice President Richard Nixon, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller is not only breaking the "Eleventh Commandment" (see page 9), but is planning a massive **Madison Avenue pitch** to the GOP delegates in Miami.

Between now and the August 5 Republican National Convention, full-page Rockefeller ads will appear once a week in 40 newspapers in 36 key cities. One-minute, prime-time television spots will be shown three times a week via the networks on some 200 stations. In addition, local stations in 35 markets will have several spots a week. Also contemplated are half-hour and possibly hour programs on prime network time.

In addition, tens of thousands of propaganda brochures and clippings have started going out to homes of delegates and voters across the nation.

Rocky claims this campaign barrage will cost less than \$2 million, but most experts disagree vehemently. Leroy Aarons of the Washington Post for example, says a knowledgeable person in the field of advertising "puts the total bill—for advertising and direct mailing—at \$5.5 million."

TEXAS

Texas GOP gubernatorial nominee **Paul Eggers**, as Human Events predicted earlier, is picking up liberal sup-

port and could become the first Republican governor of the Lone Star State since Reconstruction.

The Rebuilding Committee, a group of liberal Democrats that supported Republican John Tower against Democrat Waggoner Carr in the 1966 senatorial race, has been reformed and is now opposing Eggers' Democratic opponent, **Preston Smith**. Opposition to Eggers stems from the fact that Texas' liberal Democrats believe Smith is "too conservative" to be in the Democratic party.

In a full-page advertisement in the liberal fortnightly Texas Observer, the group questions whether "party loyalty" asks too much of Democrats.

"The Democratic nomination [for governor] does not have to be an automatic mantle of victory," the ad says. "We can create an atmosphere for rebuilding. A state two-party system is vital to loyalist Texas Democrats."

Taking its name from a statement attributed to the late President Kennedy, the Rebuilding Committee is preparing a massive campaign against Smith and has opened offices in the Littlefield Building in Austin, where state GOP headquarters are also located.

Headed by two Austin men, Tom Bones, a former campaign worker for Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.), and Pat Conway, formerly with Don Yarborough's recent campaign for governor, the committee became re-



EGGERS

activated after scores of liberal Democrats approached GOP headquarters offering their support and expressing their dissatisfaction with Smith.

A number of more conservative Democrats, who follow the cue of Gov. Tom Connally, are also said to be opposed to Smith because he is not a "Connally man."

Archer Fullingim, editor of the Kountze News and a co-chairman of the 1966 Rebuilding Committee, said he hadn't realized the group had been reactivated, but said if it is functioning, "I'll be in on it." Fullingim earlier published an editorial endorsing Eggers' candidacy. Another 1966 co-chairman, McAllen attorney Robert Sanchez, suggested he might back the committee also.

"At any rate," say the pros, "the liberal-conservative split in the Democratic party might be just wide enough so that Eggers will become the chief executive of Texas."

NIXON-REAGAN

Arizona Gov. Jack Williams reports enthusiastic grass-roots reaction in his call for a GOP "dream ticket" of **Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan**.

Williams' office says that he has received letters from rank-and-file Republicans in every section of the nation ap-

plauding his suggestion. Reagan, himself, has said that he is not interested in the second spot, but Williams is not convinced:

"Ron is a good Republican. In the long run, he would take second place if he were convinced that it's for the good of the party."

Political columnist Sydney Kossen of the Hearst newspapers quoted GOP politicians as saying that "the Reagan hard line on Viet Nam and on law and order could serve as Nixon's answer to George Wallace, whose third-party presidential campaign threatens to draw away large blocs of Republican votes in the South."

A Nixon field representative was quoted as saying that in addition to Reagan, Nixon may also consider one of the following for his running mate: Michigan Gov. **George Romney**, Massachusetts Gov. **John A. Volpe**, Sen. **John Tower** (R-Tex.), House Minority Leader **Gerald Ford** (R-Mich.) or Alaska Gov. **Walter J. Hickel**, who is Nixon's Western states campaign coordinator.

CALIFORNIA

California Republicans are given an excellent chance of capturing control of the Golden State's **38-man congressional delegation**. A switch of three seats would give the GOP a 20-to-18 advantage.

A Los Angeles Times survey indicates that five Democratic seats are threatened. They are the 17th District seat of retiring Democrat Cecil King; the 22nd (James Corman); 29th (George Brown Jr.); the 31st (Charles Wilson); and the 34th (Richard Hanna).

The Democrats will concentrate mainly on holding their own. They talk of serious challenges to Republicans **Bob Mathias** (18th District) and **Jerry Pettis** (33rd District), but both incumbents are heavily favored to win re-election.

The congressional races could have an impact on the presidential election. Should third-party candidate **George Wallace** draw off sufficient electoral votes to deprive either major party candidate of a majority, the contest would be thrown into the House of Representatives. At present, California's House vote would go for the Democratic nominee. But if the Republicans can win a majority of California's House seats this fall, the Golden State ballot would go to the GOP nominee.

SOUTH DAKOTA POLL

A Republican sweep of the nation's heartland was indicated last week by the **South Dakota Poll**, for many years an accurate barometer of farm state sentiment.

The poll pitted both Richard Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller against the all-but-certain Democratic nominee, **Hubert Humphrey**, and the results have GOP leaders beaming. Nixon was given a 52 to 33 per cent lead, with 15 per cent of the South Dakota voters undecided. Rockefeller held a 53-33 lead, with 14 per cent undecided.

Both GOP candidates also led Sen. **Eugene McCarthy**, although the Minnesota solon turned out to be a far stronger candidate than Humphrey. Nixon led McCarthy 45 to 43, with 15 per cent undecided, and Rockefeller held a 51 to 40 lead, with 9 per cent undecided.

South Dakota Democrats were at a loss to explain Humphrey's poor showing in what is his native state. The vice president has appeared frequently in the state during recent months and boasts the support of most party leaders.

McCarthy Now Threatens to Go to Paris Talks

By JERRY GREENE

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's threat to visit Paris for consultation with the Hanoi negotiators is the zaniest maneuver yet in an implausible campaign season.

It is impossible to see what good could come of it beyond his personal headline exposure. It is easy to see the prospects for irreparable harm, both to his own interests and to the success of the peace talks themselves, and they are already overloaded with handicaps.

Sen. Harry Byrd Jr. (D.-Va.) took due note of the McCarthy intent in a Senate speech on June 25. Byrd did not mention McCarthy's name, but he didn't need to when he told the Senate that the official representatives of the government should handle the Paris negotiations and that "for anyone else to get into the act is undesirable and dangerous."

Byrd added that he thought it was "highly improper" for an individual member of Congress to "designate himself a special envoy."

Since he made the plunge last November and first challenged LBJ for the Democratic presidential nomination solely on the Viet Nam war issue, McCarthy has sought to dismiss any critic of his actions as a Johnson camp follower parroting the Administration line. This is one thing Byrd isn't. The Virginia senator has displayed no taste for Johnson policies, foreign or domestic.

In an appearance on the television show "Issues and Answers" on June 23, McCarthy insisted that he didn't intend to enter negotiations "or to make any public offers." That statement itself would hang a tag of suspicion on any kind of contact McCarthy might have with the Hanoi people. He would spend a good part of the rest of his life trying to persuade somebody he hadn't made any private deals.

The Minnesota senator said what he wanted was to find out about the real possibilities of an "accommodation or settlement." He doesn't have to go to Paris for that one.

Hanoi has been proclaiming the kind of accommodations it wants by the hour for several years and has been restating the same terms for weeks in the Paris meetings. The North Vietnamese want the United States to quit shooting and pull out of the country.

So what more McCarthy could accomplish by talking with the North Vietnamese is difficult to understand. As a presidential candidate who advocates a coalition government in South Viet Nam, plus a reduction of "our military action, even in South Viet Nam," certainly McCarthy would find favor of a sort in the eyes of the Hanoi representatives.

He wouldn't have to make any offers. The mere fact of his appearance on the scene would be enough to encourage the Communists to stall longer, at least through the Democratic National Convention, to see whether this character could dump Hubert Humphrey for the presidential nomination.

Hanoi needs little excuse to stall, for this tactic is part and parcel of the recognized Communist strategy of talk-and-fight. The tedious, painfully slow course of the Paris talks was fully expected by officials here in Washington—just as the Pentagon and military headquarters in Saigon have been preparing for further desperation attacks by the



Sen. Eugene McCarthy has broken with custom and political good sense by asserting he'll try to go to Paris to talk with the North Vietnamese.

Communist forces. The rocket assaults on Saigon have been a piece of the bigger push for "victories" and more bargaining power at Paris.

As a gentle reminder, it might be recalled that the Geneva conference, which ended that Viet war against the French, was called in February 1954, before the fatal battle of Dien Bien Phu was begun. The Geneva conference opened on April 27, 1954; Dien

Bien Phu fell on May 7. The conference issued the final declaration on July 21 and the last battle of that war came on August 10.

This could be classed as a period of unusually fast action by the Communist negotiators. They advertise widely that they have plenty of time and can and will outwait the U.S., should it take 20 years.

It is probable that the U.S. has never

engaged in a more delicate diplomatic operation than these current efforts to bring an end to the Viet war, and the task of the negotiators is inevitably complicated by a presidential election campaign in which war policy is a prime issue.

Thus, McCarthy's proposed intrusion directly into the picture subjects him to personal political hazards which would seem to be as unnecessary as indiscreet. If he should go to Paris, and if the talks did bog or break, then he could not escape accusations of blame, which would be impossible to refute. He would be setting himself up as a perfect fall guy for the Administration he detests so thoroughly—and for any Republican who might come down the campaign pike.

McCarthy served as a catalyst back in the spring, not only for the anti-war people, but also for a lot of others who simply did not like Lyndon Johnson and wanted no part of him for another four years. The two groups were by no means synonymous, which had led to further confusion in a year which has had more than its share.

For a short time after the Paris talks were begun, McCarthy took the line that Viet Nam was no longer an issue, that he had won his case. Now, as the talks drag, and other campaign issues fail to excite, he would appear to be seeking a revival of the theme that he can do more, toward peace, and faster.

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Chicago Tribune—N.Y. News Syndicate

Even the Pollsters Must Doubt Polls

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Though utterly without faith in the pretense of the professional pollsters to dip into the future, I admit to a sneaking admiration for their Phoenix-like ability to rise from the ashes and blithely go ahead forecasting again. These cats have at least nine lives.

This hasn't been what you'd call a spectacular year for them. From that first primary in New Hampshire, where they erred by so many percentage points in their predictions, and continuing through Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas and California, these Delphic oracles have demonstrated that fortune-telling is still far from an exact science.

And the recent result in New York, where McCarthy's surprise showing caught them with their ouija boards down to here, would in ancient times have warranted their exile to whatever far land the *Literary Digest* emigrated to.

But darned if the boys aren't back at the old stand, prognosticating as cheerfully as ever. Here's Louis Harris, for example, offering his latest tip sheet. On the basis of interviewing a massive 1,524 votes (out of the estimated 75 million who will opt this November), he tells us that either Vice President Humphrey or Sen. McCarthy can defeat either Dick Nixon or Nelson Rockefeller.

Accept this crystal-gazing as truth, and it seems foolhardy for the GOP to proceed with its Miami convention, what with all the intramural blood-letting bound to occur

there. And why spend all that money for an August-to-November campaign in which you are certain to be licked? There surely must be some honorable way of getting out of a war that cannot be won.

The wise thing to do would be to sit back and relax, and watch the Democrats claw at each other in Chicago. I am against violence normally, but I regard a good Democratic brawl as cultural entertainment. And this one promises to show Hubert in his dangerous tight-rope act in which he firmly backs LBJ all the way, but thinks we ought to get out of Viet Nam and make friends with Red China.

The prospect is tempting, and I wish I could bring myself to believe Harris' 1,524 genuinely represented the American people. In which case, of course, our Congress and the legislatures of our 50 states should resign in favor of this elite. It would certainly be the patriotic thing to do.

And LBJ might have done well to choose one from this honor roll to take the seat on the Supreme Court that Justice Warren has vacated. No one, liberal or conservative, could challenge such a choice.

Alas, I remain an unbeliever. Considering the polls, I am not certain Mr. Harris' selections are really the cream—and even he must have his doubts. My reading is that the 1,524 have a union and cannot be fired simply for holding unpopular opinions. And they probably have tenure—so Harris is stuck with them.

Wherefore I stand on my constitutional rights and will wait for November to see how the rest of the 75 million voted. I grant that involves a considerable waste of time and money, but I want to see the official returns before conceding.

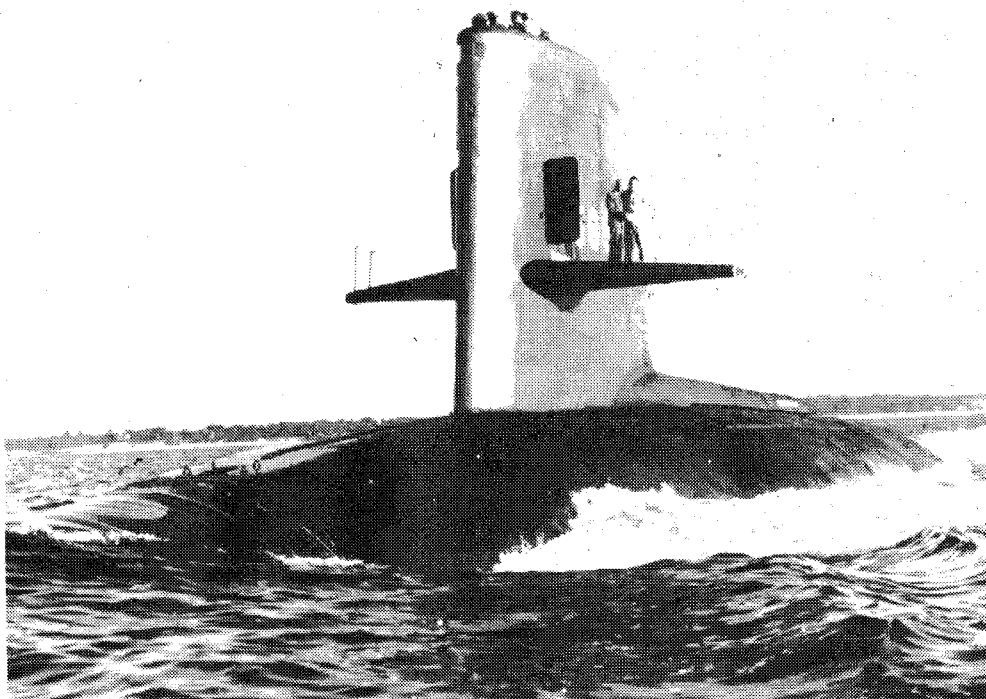
I realize I will be regarded as a horse-and-buggy conservative for opposing the oracle, and not taking the short-cut his alchemy suggests. But how about the liberal Nelson Rockefeller, who gives no credence even to the returns? He got a 5 per cent write-in vote in Nebraska, and in Oregon, where he believed he had real strength, he got only 4 per cent. Yet you can't tell him there isn't a grass-roots demand for Rocky.

Nor should it be forgotten that Harold Stassen, just as progressive as Nels, is still in there pitching. He has one delegate already pledged to him—one more than many expected—and if the convention should decide on a compromise candidate, who knows?

After all, the Harris poll showed only that Dick and Nels could be beaten—but it said nothing about Harold. And in a race between Hubert and Harold, anything may happen. Granted that some folk might decide to flee the country in that event, but there would probably be more than 1,524 who would remain to vote.

Damn the torpedoes—and the pollsters, too! On to Miami, Republicans!

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The U.S.S. Scorpion was supposedly on a secret mission when she met her mysterious demise.

What Happened to 'Scorpion'?

Spying mission may provide some clue

By PAUL SCOTT

The last mission of the *Scorpion* may hold the key to its fate.

At the time of its disappearance in May, the nuclear attack sub was investigating the operations of two "hunter-killer" Russian submarines. These Soviet vessels were tracking a deep running Polaris submarine in an area near the *Scorpion* when the latter received its secret assignment.

The Polaris submarine was enroute to the Mediterranean to take up a secret patrol station from which her 16 missiles could reach targets deep inside Russia in the event of war.

As pieced together from reports from the skipper of the Polaris, the *Scorpion* succeeded in breaking up the surveillance by the Russian submarines. There is no clear indication, however, of what then happened. The *Scorpion* kept radio silence.

According to information furnished the House Armed Services Committee by the Navy, the *Scorpion* in carrying out its mission could have been disabled or destroyed by:

- (1) Colliding with one of the Soviet submarines.
- (2) An attack by the Russian submarines.
- (3) Hitting an uncharted reef.
- (4) A mechanical failure which sank the submarine in water too deep for its safety.

Speculation on a collision with or attack by one of the Soviet submarines has increased among Navy submarine officers because of the recent militant operations of Russia's anti-submarine warfare forces.

Since the first of the year Soviet nuclear-powered submarines usually have appeared and begun a close surveillance of American Polaris submarines as they left U.S. ports for their battle stations.

The Soviet naval watch usually lasts until the Polaris is able to outmaneuver its "hunter" and slip away or until other American submarines intervene.

As in the case of the *Scorpion*, it is the assignment of U.S. attack submarines to dart in between the Polaris subs and their Russian shadow, bouncing sonar and radar signals off the Soviet hull to confuse the craft's detection gear. By these daring maneuvers, the American attack subs can usually force the Russian submarines to change course, giving the Polaris submarines the opportunity it needs to slip away.

At the present time, the U.S. has "more than 35 Polaris submarines on station" off the shores of the Soviet Union and Communist China. All of these subs carry 16 missiles.

Although the U.S. Navy has no firm estimate of the number of Soviet submarines with Polaris-type capabilities, British naval sources report there are between 10 and 14.

In addition to these missile-firing submarines, the Russians have 38 nuclear-powered and 57 diesel-powered missile subs in their fleet of 500 submarines.

U.S. intelligence authorities report that the Russians are now operating a full-time submarine patrol off both coasts of the U.S. and in the Gulf of Mexico.

Most of these patrol vessels are nuclear-powered and are using a newly built naval base in Cuba as one of their away-from-home ports. In addition to charting U.S. coasts and checking on departing and arriving Polaris submarines, the Soviet vessels are known to ferry espionage agents from Cuba to U.S. shores.

* * *

North Korea appears to be positioning its military forces for a new invasion of South Korea.

Kim Il-Sung, the Soviet-trained premier of North Korea who launched that first offensive, has pledged to open a "new front against the U.S. at the appropriate time."

Significantly, Kim has in recent days put all his military forces on a war-time alert and issued a decree which in effect has caused full mobilization of North Korean manpower and industry.

In addition to these military moves, Kim has already supplied more than 50 Korean pilots to the battered North Vietnamese air force, which is being completely rebuilt during the present U.S. halt of all bombing above the 19th parallel.

The President's intelligence advisers have been warning him that the Kremlin planned a series of closely connected crises in West Berlin, Korea, Viet Nam and Cuba this summer.

As forecast then, these crises will be linked closely with massive demonstrations and riots planned in Washington and other major U.S. cities.

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Russia Is Big Beneficiary Of Nonproliferation Treaty

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Sometime before the end of June, the representatives of the United States, the USSR and Great Britain will sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and offer it for signature to all other countries, including West Germany.

Once 40 such, plus the original three, have signed (and presumably ratified where ratification is necessary), the treaty that consecrates the United States and the Soviet Union the undisputed masters of the planet will come into force.

Concerning the treaty, opinions differ radically. To its formulators, it is a long step toward permanent peace and political Utopia.

To other countries—India, Spain and West Germany—it is an arrogant act of self-assertion on the part of two powers that threaten to divide the world permanently into states that count and states that do not.

And while American leaders positively coo over this new act of cooperation on the part of Moscow and chortle about the Spirit of Glassboro, Russian leaders and *Pravda* coolly warn LBJ that before there can be real friendship, the United States will have to give South Viet Nam to the Viet Cong and, presumably, cease to oppose any further "little wars of liberation" which Moscow may consider necessary. Meanwhile, in countries like the United States and France, Communist agitators are busy planning the summer's guerrilla war.

In this country opponents of the treaty, including the *Wall Street Journal* and this writer, appear to be in the minority. The former considers the treaty a "meaningless symbol."

It likens it to another Kellogg-Briand Pact "outlawing war" which, as everybody knows, had not the slightest effect in preventing or retarding World War II.

This writer, along with experts such as Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.), considers it an explosively harmful act which will, among other things, reduce to an empty shell what little is left of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The reason has been specifically pressed by Soviet speakers: Russia's chief motive in pushing the treaty is permanently to deprive the German Federal Republic of nuclear weapons.

Most Germans consider this deliberate political and military discrimination. They fail to understand why the United States, for whatever reason, has taken sides with a past and probably future enemy, Russia, against a tried and faithful ally such as West Germany. Their country, they note, produced the scientists who first split the atom and made rocket weapons feasible and even today are in some respects ahead of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, as the majority of German leaders see it, the imposition of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is another proof that the United States is gambling the future of freedom upon the single Soviet card.

Moreover, even supposing that the Germans, still vulnerable because of Hitler's misdeeds, are bullied into signing the treaty, several other governments representing almost half of the world's three billion people will not. Some make nuclear weapons instead.

Others will procrastinate, hoping that the U.S. Senate will not be pushed into ratifying this treaty before it goes home, and that the American voters will choose a new Senate hostile to ratification. It took even LBJ almost four years to force the Consular Treaty with Russia through an unwilling Senate. Yet compared to the Nonproliferation Treaty, the consular agreement was as a firecracker to a hand grenade.

Therefore I urge all those citizens who believe that obtaining just one uninspected disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union is not worth the loss of reliable allies, to write immediately to their respective U.S. senators and tell them to lay off. If before doing so, they want further information, let them write to Rep. Craig Hosmer, member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Washington, D.C.

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Orville's Green Thumb?

Farm policies have grown costlier and more wasteful than ever

Reprinted with permission from Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, June 17, 1968

"St. Louis—DJ—McDonnell Automation Co., a division of McDonnell Douglas Corp., is conducting a computer study of the potential agricultural production of the entire Missouri River basin for the Department of Agriculture, the company announced. The study, which will be for the years 1980, 2000 and 2020, will evaluate costs and benefits of future irrigation, drainage and flood protection projects in the 285-million-acre basin as they relate to agricultural production—it will also be possible to compare costs of producing farm products on existing lands to estimated costs on land developed by water resource projects, the announcement noted.

"By applying the Missouri River basin linear program to other major river basins, McDonnell claims that an improved understanding of the nation's future agricultural potential can be obtained. Calculations are based on data developed by the Agriculture Department."

★ ★ ★

In farming out its long-range projections to private enterprise (as the news-week reported on June 12), USDA may have been seeking to advance the growing partnership between business and government. Or it may simply have acted with a belated weather eye on its own shortcomings in the tricky realm of forecasting.

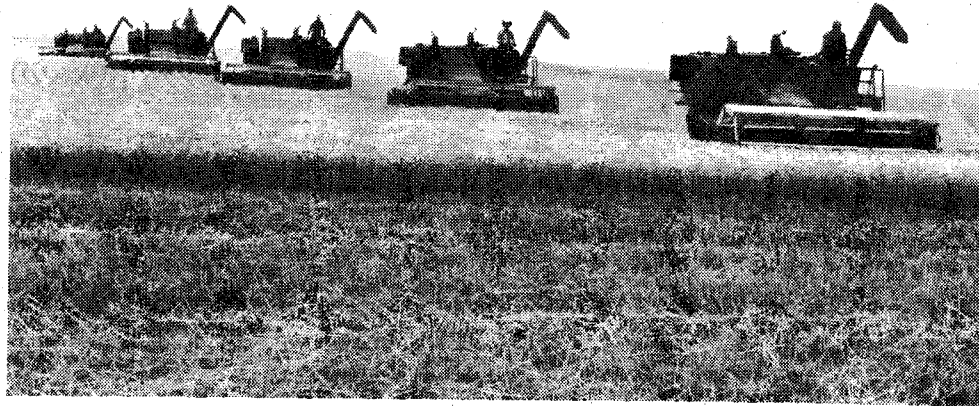
Barely a half-decade ago, after all, Secretary Orville L. Freeman, hardly perennial of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, made a famous tour of the Soviet Union, then in the grip of one of the worst crop failures on record, without noticing anything amiss. The department's own yearly predictions of sugar supply and demand long since have become a sour joke on producers and consumers alike.

As to its skill in other fields, here is what an old hand like Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, recently told the Senate: "The Administration had three chances to prove the value of centralized planning in 1967 [in cotton, wheat and feed grains], but it struck out all three times."

Secretary Freeman's lifetime batting average—with some office-holders, seven years can seem like a lifetime—looks equally bleak. During his stewardship, the annual expenditures of USDA increased from \$5 billion to nearly \$8 billion (adjusted for some fancy bookkeeping), to the point where virtually half of the farmer's net income today comes from cultivating Washington.



Under Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman department expenditures have increased from \$5 billion to \$8 billion.



Lavish federal outlays have inflated land values beyond the reach of all but the richest or most efficient operators, thereby accelerating the relentless decline in the number of family farms and farm families. Acreage restrictions and other forms of official market manipulation have caused unsettling cycles of scarcity and glut in such key raw materials as cotton, while helping to push food prices ahead of the rise in the over-all cost of living.

Finally, Food for Peace and Freedom—which Secretary Freeman has eulogized in a new book, *World Without Hunger*—has subsidized Socialist folly and Communist aggression from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean. U.S. farm policy (like the Augean stables) was a stench in the nostrils of honest men long before the current secretary of agriculture set foot in Washington. Unlike Hercules, however, Orville Freeman has done nothing to clean up the mess.

On the contrary, a compelling weight of evidence suggests, he has helped make matters measurably worse. That's certainly true of the load on the taxpayer. Thus, the federal budget for the 12 months ended June 30, 1962 (the last one readied by the Eisenhower Administration) called for USDA to spend approximately \$5.2 billion. For fiscal '69, in sharp contrast, the budget projects outlays of over \$7 billion, to which one must add perhaps \$1 billion more for the levy on wheat channeled via flour mills into domestic consumption (the nation's first "bread tax"), which goes to the Commodity Credit Corp. and for probable large overages in the cost of propping up the prices of record soybean and wheat crops.

Since the number of farms has declined in the past seven years by over 20 per cent (while U.S. farm population has plunged by nearly 30 per cent), government cash payments per farm have soared from \$175 to \$978.

According to the redoubtable Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) 6,579 farm operators each snatched \$25,000 or more from the federal trough last year. Fifteen were paid from \$500,000 to \$1 million apiece, while five corporate sod-busters made off with over \$1 million in subsidy payments.

What's good for the J. G. Boswell Co., Rancho San Antonio, South Lake Farms, Hawaiian Commercial and U.S. Sugar Corp. (the fortunate five) may not be so good for the rest of the country. In any case that's plainly the view of the American Farm Bureau Federation and its eloquent spokesman, who recently testified before the Senate Com-

mittee on Agriculture and Forestry on "Experiences Under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965." The latter, Mr. Shuman ventured to suggest, has left much to be desired.

In particular, he assailed both the precept and practice of centralized planning, through which USDA seeks to strike a balance between supply and demand in key commodities. Commenting on the aforementioned three "strike-outs," Mr. Shuman observed: "A sharp acreage cut was ordered in cotton to reduce the surplus, but an unfavorable season brought the crop down to less than eight million bales, and a serious shortage of the better grades developed. As a consequence, cotton is suffering a further loss of markets which producers can ill afford."

"Opposite results were experienced with wheat and feed grains. The Administration over-reacted to hysterical evaluations of the world food situation and encouraged farmers to expand grain production in advance of effective demand. . . . The inevitable result was lower grain prices."

Time for a Change

Leave Farm Law to New Congress

By CHARLES B. SHUMAN

(The following remarks are excerpted from Mr. Shuman's statement before the Senate Agriculture Committee, June 25, 1968, in opposition to S 3590, an Administration-backed bill that would amend and extend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. Mr. Shuman is president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.)

Frankly, we are amazed that this committee is seriously considering extending an act that has reduced the parity ratio to the lowest level in 34 years.

The current act does not expire until Dec. 31, 1969—over 18 months from now. In January 1969 there will be a new President and a new Congress. They will want—and are entitled to—an opportunity to participate in decisions affecting future government farm programs.

Action now to extend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 would seem to indicate a shocking lack of confidence in the new Congress to be elected in November. Why should the present Congress show such distrust of the people and the Congress they will elect?

With Congress having passed a 10 per cent tax increase and a requirement

At the wholesale level U.S. farm policy thus has had its ups and downs. However, over the retail counter, where the public must deal, the effect has been all one way. Since 1960 the cost of living has advanced from 103.1 (1957-59 equals 100) to 119.9, or by roughly 13 per cent. Food prices in the same period have jumped by 16.7 per cent, nearly one-third again as much, while certain staples in the nation's market basket, notably bread and delivered milk, have risen even more.

Secretary Freeman may have a justifiable complaint against the CBS television network, which, in a recent broadcast on "Hunger in America," placed too much blame on the Department of Agriculture. USDA makes nobody starve. All it does through its price support programs, marketing agreements and acreage curbs is to put a merciless squeeze on the American family food budget.

Under catchy new labels—supply-management, Food for Freedom and the like—Washington continues to pursue the same old dreary, Depression-spawned and discredited techniques. Yet left to its own devices agriculture is an exciting economic and technological realm where the watchword is change.

In "What's Ahead in Farming, Spring-Summer 1968," the editors of *Farm Journal* have caught some of the excitement. In once unproductive areas like the fringes of the Mississippi and Louisiana Delta, as well as the sagebrush country of southern Idaho, whole new farming frontiers have begun to emerge. Science has developed a strain of hybrid corn that ripens in only 70 days, thus opening up the prospect of harvesting two crops instead of one. In contrast, Secretary Freeman and his party remain yoked to policies that long ago outlived their usefulness. It's time to start breaking fresh and far more hopeful ground.

that the President reduce budgeted expenditures \$6 billion in the next fiscal year, it is highly inappropriate to extend the 1965 Act for four more years at a probable cost of more than \$3 billion per year.

This makes the Act of 1965 the most costly farm program mistake in history. It's costing taxpayers nearly \$9 million each day. Extension of this costly scheme would soak up approximately one-third of the recent increase in taxes with little if any benefit to farmers. . . .

Members of this committee surely realize that farmers are in a serious cost-price squeeze. The Farm Bureau is dedicated to the objective of reducing this pressure through actions that will increase net farm income. Extension of the Act of 1965 would not accomplish this objective. It's time for a change in farm programs—not more of the same.

Instead of continuing down the dead-end road of government supply-management—with acreage limitations, stockpiles to depress market prices, price fixing and subsidies—farmers need a broad-based program to expand markets, increase prices, cut costs and thus provide the basis for increased net farm income.

'Rocky the Spoiler' Is At It Again

Nelson Rockefeller would like to have us believe that 1964 was a disaster year for Republicans everywhere, a real nightmare, a time Rocky would like to forget and would like the GOP never to repeat. But apparently this is just another one of Rockefeller's little campaign tricks, for it seems he actually liked '64 quite a lot. Why else would he be trying so hard to recreate the conditions of four years ago?

"Those who have followed both of the liberal Republican underdogs," observed the Baltimore *Sun* last week, "see many similarities between the New Yorker's late-starting effort to stop Mr. Nixon and William W. Scranton's ill-fated move against Barry Goldwater in 1964."

The comparison between Rockefeller and Scranton is uncannily apt.

Pennsylvania Gov. Scranton entered the fight against Barry Goldwater—like Richard Nixon, the favorite among the GOP grass-roots leaders—when the presidential front-runner all but had the nomination sewn up. Goldwater had gained an insurmountable lead by taking his case to the people, running (and winning) in several primaries and culminating his campaign with a stunning victory (over Rockefeller) in the California primary.

But the liberal Eastern Establishment Republican potentates could not accept the fact that conservative Goldwater was actually the party's choice; there just had to be, they believed, some magical, hidden reservoir of support for a liberal Republican like Scranton and this would mystically reveal itself in the popular opinion polls.

So Scranton, with the primaries safely out of the way, entered the race against Goldwater with a stream of bitter, hostile invective that culminated at the GOP convention in that scathing public letter to Goldwater which contained one personal abuse after another.

Of course, the Scranton effort failed miserably, as it was bound to from the beginning. But the smears and vitriol dumped on the Arizona senator during the brief foray—by Scranton, Rockefeller, Javits, et al.—were all the Democrats needed to discredit the Republican presidential nominee and win the November election.

And what is "Rule or Ruin" Rockefeller doing now? Nothing less than following the Scranton script to the very letter.

When Rocky took himself out of consideration for the nomination on March 21 he said he did so because Nixon was the obvious choice of the party leaders and that to challenge the former vice president would, by Rocky's own admission, be "divisive." A few weeks later, however, with Nixon even further ahead, Rockefeller decided to cast "divisiveness" to the winds and challenge Nixon on the assumption that all those hidden liberal Republicans around the country who had failed to come out for Scranton would now dare show themselves and support the Rock.

Rockefeller had tried to play the waiting game, hoping other Republicans would change his "non-candidate" status by drafting him; this failed when the only breeze around Rocky came from the mouths of liberal GOP has-beens as they told him how popular he was.

Next Rockefeller declared his candidacy, toured the country giving platitu-

dinous speeches and waited for a ground swell of support; this failed when his audiences began dozing off and the rank and file ignored him.

Now, finally, Rockefeller is trying a more aggressive approach through a tremendously expensive advertising campaign promoting his "programs" while the candidate himself indulges in some of the worst political invective and smear since . . . well, Bill Scranton.

"Nelson Rockefeller's bid for the Republican nomination has now evolved to its inevitable final stage: the rough and tumble tactics of desperation," editorialized the Washington *Evening Star*, which had supported Scranton in '64. "Now Rockefeller has come out swinging, taunting, name-calling and occasionally landing perilously close to the belt line with out-of-context quotations. . . ."

Rocky is now distorting Nixon's record and his own, he is misusing facts and misquoting everyone, and in the process is pumping up his own self-image to the point where a good swift kick would send it splattering over the landscape, reduced to rubbery jelly.

Rockefeller is not only playing "The Spoiler" and threatening to divide the party, but is providing the Democrats with a host of bitter assaults that will come in mighty handy should Richard Nixon be the GOP presidential nominee. (And he also has recently started criticizing Ronald Reagan—just in case.)

Chief among these assaults against Nixon is the charge that the former vice president is a "loser," that he cannot carry the big city vote and that Rockefeller, as presidential nominee, could carry the urban areas and pull in a number of GOP congressional candidates on his coattails. This is a line of attack Rocky has used repeatedly, most recently before a group of Republican House and Senate members on Capitol Hill.

The truth is, of course, that the Rockefeller coattails are virtually nonexistent, as witness his performance in New York state: Since Rocky was first elected governor in 1958, the New York GOP has lost a total of 11 House seats, one Senate seat, and the statewide Republican share of the congressional vote has dwindled from 48.6 per cent in '58 to 43.1 per cent in 1966. Moreover, in 1966 New York was one of the few states where the GOP failed to dislodge a single Democratic freshman incumbent elected in 1964.

And neither is Rockefeller's own vote-getting performance as impressive as he would have his audiences believe. In 1958 he received 53 per cent of the popular vote; in 1966, seeking re-election to his third term, Rocky won only a "minority" victory with 44 per cent of the vote. In fact, Nixon received a higher percentage of the New York state vote in 1960—47 per cent—than Rockefeller did in 1966.

As far as helping congressional candidates into office, GOP delegates need look no further into the past than 1966. Most of the 47 House members the Republicans added in '66 credited personal appearances and politicking by Richard Nixon as helping them get elected; meanwhile, in New York the GOP picked up one seat (formerly held by a Democrat who retired) and the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee noted that "The GOP has been losing

House seats in the Eastern part of the country. . . . The losses in New York state are most noticeable."

The reason Nixon cannot attract urban votes, charges one Rockefeller campaign document, is that the former vice president "choke[s] hope" in the nation's ghettos "in the name of law and order and then turns to undermine our highest court of law."

In truth, Nixon has proposed far-reaching programs aimed at rehabilitating ghetto areas and improving the lot



New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller addresses a crowd during the opening of his Washington headquarters.

of impoverished Negroes, programs that have been praised by such black leaders as CORE's Roy Innis and attracted the following comment from *Time* magazine: "No candidate has addressed himself more realistically to the plight of the Negro slum dweller thus far in the 1968 campaign than did Richard Nixon."

Rockefeller also faults Nixon for failing to take his campaign "to the people" and for refusing to debate Rocky. "That's why we are a minority party."

Rockefeller, however, had his chance to debate Nixon in the primaries, when Nixon was taking his candidacy directly "to the people" and placing his fortune in their hands. In the face of this opportunity, Rocky scrupulously avoided confrontation and the only people he took his campaign to were wife Happy and a handful of cronies.

(Rockefeller's avoidance of primaries is understandable, as he has won only one of them in his political expeditions outside New York state—the Oregon '64 primary. To come right down to it, Rocky has quite an impressive record as a "loser" himself.)

Another matter Rockefeller is trying to make into a major issue is "The Shrinking Dollar," as one of his lavish full-page newspaper ads headlined a dissertation on Rocky's purported record of fiscal responsibility while governor. At one point in the advertisement appears the assertion: "A Fact: In each of my 10 years as Governor, the state budget has been balanced." Sure, it's been "balanced"—through incredible deficit financing. Since 1959 the New York state budget has grown from \$1.9 billion to an estimated \$5.5 billion for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1969. During the same period the state's total debt has risen from \$6 billion to over \$11 billion.

But Rockefeller's major assault on Nixon the past few weeks has been over Viet Nam policy. He says Nixon has made "varying statements and bewildering judgments" on Viet Nam over the past two years and he lifts a quote out of context from a recent magazine article, which has Nixon saying "There is no alternative to the war's going on," for proof of Nixon's militarism. And now that the former vice president has declared a moratorium on Viet Nam

statements, pending the outcome of the Paris peace talks, Rockefeller says with a sneer: "Did a refuge in silence seem the safest haven for a prophet who had been proven so wrong?"

Rockefeller is certainly the wrong person to be talking about "safe havens" in this regard. During the four-year period from May 1964-April 1968, the New York governor steadfastly refused to make any statement on Viet Nam, the most pressing and controversial issue facing the nation.

Even when Rocky finally did break his silence last April reporters had a difficult time discerning just how he differed from Nixon. Furthermore, in 1964 Rocky said he supported the U.S. military presence in Viet Nam, but now he claims as President he would "de-Americanize" the war—a rather "varying statement" and "bewildering judgment" at that.

And when one of the Republicans' premier "doves," Sen. Mark Hatfield of Oregon, recently endorsed the Nixon candidacy, Rockefeller could offer no more than personal abuse: "It means that Mark Hatfield has betrayed his own integrity as far as his position on Viet Nam is concerned." Eleven GOP senators responded to this blast by sending a telegram to Rocky saying that his remarks on Hatfield (and Nixon) "serve only to boost Democrats in November" and that "we think it would be much more constructive and beneficial if any future remarks about Sen. Hatfield, former Vice President Nixon or other Republicans were enunciated in the cooperative spirit you voiced in your recent Washington meetings with Republican members of the House and Senate."

Through all these stormy attacks, Nixon has refused to get down in the dirt with Rockefeller and share in the party's disruption. "I have no comment on what Gov. Rockefeller says or what charges he makes," Nixon will only say to inquisitive reporters.

But as the Washington *Evening Star* pointed out, Rockefeller is "desperate." The son of billionaire John D. Rockefeller has had just about everything American life can offer except the U.S. presidency, although he has tried—and failed—on two previous occasions. If the party doesn't want him, Rocky is convinced the people—some people, somewhere—do, and that they will make their choice known through the popular opinion polls.

Thus Rockefeller's most important campaign aides become George Gallup and Lou Harris—or, if they fail to "produce," pollsters Rocky himself hires—and those thousands of anonymous voters they regularly survey. To impress this unique sector of the American electorate, Rocky has little time to waste and a long way to go to catch Richard Nixon.

Just like Bill Scranton in 1964. Scranton was an equally distant second-runner to Barry Goldwater and figured the most expedient way to narrow the distance was not to boost his own stock, but to tear down that of the guy in first place. In the process he also managed to divide the party for the remainder of the campaign—but this is only what Nelson Rockefeller describes as the "free enterprise" approach to politics.

Others call it playing The Spoiler.

ELECTION YEAR REPORTS

To Enlighten, Inform, and
Persuade Your Friends

1. ROCKEFELLER

"Nelson Rockefeller:
'Reluctant' Candidate"

Will he rule-or-ruin again? M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis *News*, brings his formidable reporting talents to bear on Gov. Rockefeller: the man and the politician, from his New Deal days to the present. Now that the governor has finally publicly announced his candidacy, this timely, in-depth profile should be read by all voters. They should learn why Rocky avoided primaries, how he stands on the issues.

2. WALLACE

"The Rise and Stand of
George Wallace"

A former Goldwater aide who regularly visits the South to keep in touch with the political picture there, focuses on the phenomenon of George Wallace—his personal background, his early rise in the rough-and-tumble of back-county politics and his current candidacy—what his chances are and what effect it could have on the November elections. Plus exclusive poll of how the nation's leading conservatives feel about the Wallace candidacy.

3. OTEPKA

"The Otto Otepka Story"

The whole incredible story of security scandals in the State Department and what happened to the man who exposed them are revealed in Otepka's extraordinary defense brief. If enough voters learn this story of State Department security breakdowns, it could be an explosive campaign issue.

4. 1968 ELECTION GUIDE

Compiled by the editors from the six-part "Election Information" series which appeared in *Human Events*, this guide is a small encyclopedia of facts that will help you understand the essential historical, statistical and legal information relating to the 1968 elections, and the men who will be involved in them.

5. REAGAN

"High Marks for Reagan's
First Year in Office"

Lee Edwards, author of *Reagan: A Political Biography*, reviews the Reagan record as Governor of the nation's largest state, and finds much in it to praise. Includes excerpts from unofficial "news conferences," which reflect Reagan's candid views on the issues and his astuteness in handling the press.

6. SCHLAFLY ON THE GOP

"Don't Let Them Take It Away"

Phyllis Schlafly, author of such campaign best-sellers as *A Choice Not An Echo* and *Safe-Not Sorry*, zeros in on the behind-the-scenes plans of the liberals to take control of the GOP. Her conclusion: conservatives have what it takes to win, but could lose it all if they don't take the necessary action now.

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School Integration Cases

Our Judges Should Stick to Their Judging

From the Washington Sunday Star

Eleven months ago the American Association of School Administrators, with some 17,000 members around the country, strongly urged that an appeal be taken from Judge Skelly Wright's decision in the District school case.

The association said that the decision "usurps the prerogatives of boards of education and school administrators" and, further, that Judge Wright's educational theories are "wrong and dangerous."

Now, a year after the ruling, an appeal will be heard this week by the United States Court of Appeals. What the result will be is, of course, uncertain. But one may at least hope that the appellate judges will return control of the Washington schools to the school authorities, and that Judge Wright will be encouraged to devote himself to his judicial knitting.

Judge Wright has not been the only federal judge to get into the business of running or trying to run public school systems. The Supreme Court and the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals also got in a few whacks this year.

The case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* was decided by the Supreme Court in 1954 and an implementing decision, known as *Brown II*, came down a year later.

The 1954 *Brown* ruling held that segregated public school systems imposed or required by state or local law were in violation of the 14th Amendment and therefore unconstitutional. *Brown II* decreed that such segregated systems must be abolished. The court did not say, however, that compulsory segregation must be replaced by compulsory integration.

John J. Parker, then chief judge of the Fourth Circuit, construed the *Brown* decision in this language: "It [the court] has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend. What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. . . . Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people the freedom to choose the schools they attend."

Chief Judge Parker was a distinguished jurist, not a man to bypass or undermine Supreme Court rulings. A few years before his death in 1958 he was awarded the American Bar Asso-

ciation's gold medal for "conspicuous service to American jurisprudence." But in undertaking to construe *Brown*, Judge Parker spoke too soon. He couldn't foresee, of course, what the Supreme Court would say in May 1968, in the case of Virginia's New Kent County, and he would have been horrified to read that opinion.

New Kent is a small rural county with only two schools for its 740 Negro and 550 white pupils—New Kent School on the east side of the county for whites and George W. Watkins School on the west for Negroes. There is no residential segregation in the county.

New Kent, as it had to do, went along for several years after *Brown* with



Judge J. Skelley Wright's decision in the District of Columbia school case alarmed many legal experts.

the Virginia Legislature's various efforts to avoid school desegregation. But three years ago the county adopted a freedom of choice plan. There has been no claim that the plan did not offer a truly free choice or that it was applied in any discriminatory way. No white children transferred to the Watkins school. But in 1957 a total of 115 Negro children applied for and were enrolled in New Kent. This was up from 35 in 1965 and 111 in 1966. To sum it up, no white children have gone to the "colored" school, but slightly more than 15 per cent of the Negro children were attending the "white" school at the end of this year's term.

In an ambiguous opinion, Justice Brennan said this was not good enough.

He did not, and indeed he could not, properly say that a bona fide freedom of choice plan, such as New Kent's, is unconstitutional. In fact, he did not cite any specific constitutional basis for holding that the New Kent system wouldn't do.

He said the plan placed a "burden" on children and their parents—the burden of applying for admission to one school or the other if they wanted to switch. He did not stress the point that the parents of 115 Negro children did not find this too burdensome last year. He also suggested that the county should adopt some kind of "zoning" system, although he was very vague about this. And without more ado, he set aside a ruling by the Fourth Circuit which had upheld the New Kent plan.

So much for that. But what is it that New Kent County is supposed to do that will satisfy the learned justices of the Supreme Court when they doff their judicial robes and sit as a local school board? Justice Brennan didn't say. The county authorities are left

in the dark. But we have several suggestions:

(1) The ruling applies only to states whose schools formerly were segregated by law, which means the Southern and border states. If this is what the law now requires in those states, why is it not required in all states?

(2) This decision, although it doesn't spell it out, clearly commands compulsory integration, and this without specifying any constitutional basis for the command. Judge Brennan did cite some language from *Brown II*, but *Brown II* is not the Constitution.

(3) The court is saying, though not in so many words, that some white children in New Kent County, regardless of their wishes, must be compelled by the local authorities to attend the "colored" school, and that more than 115 Negro children, regardless of their desires, must be compelled to attend the "white" school.

Precisely what racial "mix" will be satisfactory? Again, the justices in their infinite wisdom did not say. We suspect they haven't the foggiest notion. We also suspect that what they have done will play hob with New Kent County's public school system and the education of both its black and white children.

Another judicial shocker, which reinforces our belief that judges, especially eager-beaver judges, should stay out of the schoolroom, has just come down from the Fourth Circuit.

The effect of this 5-to-2 ruling in a Norfolk case is to cut down the neighborhood school concept. Again, the court majority uses weasel words. It says that the assignment of pupils to neighborhood schools is a sound concept. But it adds that this is not true if purely private discrimination in housing keeps Negroes out of a given residential area.

How does private discrimination, as distinguished from public or state discrimination, offend the Constitution? The majority judges, of course, do not say. But we note with interest the dissenting opinion by Judge Albert V. Bryan, who said the court was guilty of "usurpation," and that the majority through its decision "once again acts as a school board and as a trial court, and now is about to act as a city planning commission." This last presumably refers to the problem of how to bus pupils in Norfolk, which has no school bus system.

To sum it up, federal judges have a constitutional duty and the competence to strike down any law which imposes school segregation. They have neither the duty nor the competence to demand compulsory integration and to run the schools by judicial fiat. The sooner the judges recognize this, if they ever recognize it, the better it will be for our system of public education.

□□□

HEALTHY SKEPTICISM—"Daniel P. Moynihan, the much-respected liberal who has lately been drifting slowly toward the right, says: 'Somehow liberals have been unable to acquire from life what conservatives seem to be endowed with at birth, namely, a healthy skepticism of the powers of government to do good.' Light dawns."—From the Birmingham (Ala.) *News*



Justice Brennan failed to find any constitutional basis for his opinion on a school desegregation case.

How 'Creative Society' Works in California

By GOV. RONALD REAGAN

GARY W. RUSSELL

Sacramento, Calif.:—A year and a half ago the people of California voted to endorse a concept of government I call the Creative Society, a concept based on keeping government close to the people and involving citizens more directly in the problems of society and the affairs of government.

Since January of last year we have set out to make that concept work. We have set out to prove that the old concept of a highly centralized, highly paternalistic government, rejected by our forefathers in 1776 and resurrected by the New Deal in 1933, cannot serve the people half as well as the people can serve themselves, if they are given a chance.

From the beginning we have turned to the people, as we promised we would do, for their help. And they have responded magnificently.

Men with salaries in six figures, men in the early part of promising business and professional careers have left their jobs and professions to join our administration at greatly reduced salaries because they have seen a chance to help make government once again the servant of the people, not their master.

Last year nearly 300 top executives and businessmen took time off from their usual occupations for periods of up to six months to conduct, at no expense to the state, a study aimed at improving and streamlining the operation of California government.

They came up with nearly 1,500 recommendations. At this writing, we have already implemented 379 of these recommendations, at an annual savings to the state of \$105 million. And government is operating better as a result.

Somewhere in our land there are people with solutions to almost all of our problems and many of those are already being applied on a limited scale. In California we are looking for people with vision and with solutions that work.

One such man is H. L. "Chad" McClellan, a retired industrialist and a former president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

After the devastating 1965 Watts riots, Mr. McClellan got together with a group of Los Angeles businessmen and presented a plan to put the Watts unemployed to work. McClellan pointed out that industry is crying out for skilled and semi-skilled workers and that Watts was a great untapped pool.

In a year and a half he and his committee put 17,800 men to work. All but one-sixth of these are still on the job. And proving how much of the so-called ghetto walls are economic, more than one-third of those men have since moved away from Watts.

When I took office I asked Mr. McClellan to undertake this program on a statewide scale. This he has done and thousands of California industries are now participating.

Mr. McClellan refuses to play the numbers game as to just how many jobs have been filled, but some indication of his effectiveness can be gathered by the fact that California's unemployment rate has dropped to its lowest point since World War II. In addition, while in the nation the unemployment rate for Negroes is 2½ times that for whites, in the greater Los Angeles area where the program has been in effect longest that ratio is only 1½ to 1.

Thirteen other states have also asked Mr. McClellan to explain his program to them.



California's Gov. Ronald Reagan touched upon some of his state policies during a recent Washington, D.C., news conference.

Welfare, as practiced under the New Deal-Fair Deal-New Frontier-Great Society, has been a monstrous failure, condemning families up to the third generation to life on the dole, spawning hopelessness and advancing the concept that government owes everyone an equal living instead of an equal chance.

In California we are seeking to change that approach, although the task is not an easy one, since so much of welfare is controlled and hamstrung by federal regulations.

First of all we are insisting that the able-bodied work if work is available. Secondly, we are endorsing state legislation that says a family on welfare cannot make more than it could if the breadwinner were working at the minimum wage.

But we are also taking steps to see if it is possible to break the dependency cycle and return people to gainful employment. We have started a pilot program in Fresno involving both the government and the independent sector.

Those on welfare who can be salvaged will be tested, trained and educated and put into jobs. Those who cannot be will then be placed back on welfare roles, because there is no question that society must take care of those

who cannot take care of themselves.

However, we intend to make certain that any citizen who can be self-supporting will be self-supporting.

While the Creative Society emphasizes the involvement in government of the independent sector, it also recognizes that government must create and maintain conditions that insure equal justice, equal rights and the right to equal participation in our society.

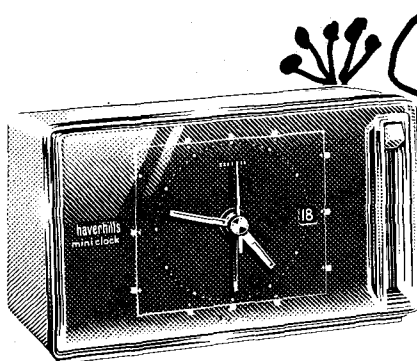
We have asked the legislature to take action in several areas. In the area of justice, I think that for too long judgeships have been mere political plums where appointments were payoffs, and judicial temperament and ability were secondary considerations.

Our Merit Selection Plan will end that and will insure that judges are picked on ability, irrespective of whether they are Democrats or Republicans.

We have also asked the legislature to take steps that will give union members control of their

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unions. Strangely, union leaders and their allies, the liberal Democrats—those who profess to be champions of the working man—are actively opposed to any such effort.

Our plan is simple. It would provide that on matters of policy union members would have the right to vote by secret ballot.

This does not seem unreasonable for any organization, especially for unions, since they are no longer made up solely of voluntary memberships and men must join unions in order to hold jobs.

At one time, of course, the wage earner had the most to fear from his boss. But no longer. Job security is so built in, it has become difficult to fire any except the most incompetent.

Now the worker is more beholden to his shop steward and his union leader, and he knows this when he goes to vote on controversial union affairs.

It is indeed difficult for a man to vote his conscience or his convictions under the watchful eye of the union boss. Thus, union leaders can sometimes remain in power or establish power when the membership, in actuality, is opposed. A secret ballot would insure real democracy in our unions.

These are only some of the things we are doing in California. And they are only a beginning. In the days and months ahead we will continue trying to implement in California the dream held by our founding fathers—that men are capable of self-government and are the better off for it.

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RACES of the WEEK



Florida's 12th District

Thompson vs. Fascell

Political "realists" told young Mike Thompson that he was out of his mind to resign his editorship at the Miami News to announce for Congress in January 1966. Thompson was a Republican and the 12th District was overwhelmingly Democratic. Liberal incumbent Dante Fascell had trounced his previous opponent by almost 2 to 1 and the "pros" considered him unbeatable.

But when the votes were counted 10 months later, the unknown and under-financed Thompson had garnered more than 46 per cent of the vote in the closest race in district history. And Dante Fascell was no longer considered unbeatable.

Thompson, who is challenging Fascell for a second time, believes the incumbent is much weaker than two years ago. Redistricting has removed several Democratic strongholds and experts give Fascell no more than an even chance of victory.

The veteran politico is clearly running scared. For the first time in his 13-year Washington career, he polled his constituents only to discover strong opposition to his liberal ideology. On issue after issue—Viet Nam, the "War on Poverty," law and order—Fascell's constituents voiced conservative sentiments.

But Fascell has paid them no heed. Sixty-five per cent opposed "fair housing" legislation, with only 28 per cent in favor. But when the fair housing bill came before Congress, Fascell lined up with the Administration once again.

Lining up with the Administration is a Fascell tradition. Figures compiled by the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* disclose that he has echoed LBJ on 94 per cent of the House rollcalls, a percentage surpassed by only two of his 434 colleagues.

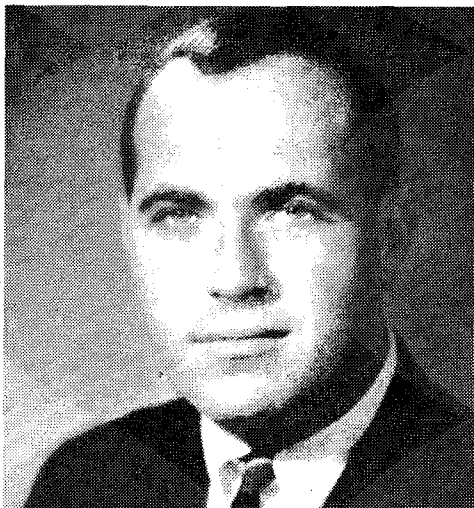
Thompson is making Fascell's voting record the key issue in his campaign, hitting hard at his votes for East-West trade and aid to Nasser (the latter position is particularly unpopular in the district, which has many Jewish voters).

He has denounced Fascell's cynical attempts to be on both sides of such controversial issues as right to work, Medicare and civil rights.

Fascell, who largely ignored Thompson two years ago, is not making the same mistake again. He returns to the district every weekend to meet the voters, frequently discovering, however, that Thompson has been there first. An attractive, articulate campaigner, Thompson boasts a volunteer organization of more than 1,000 workers (Thompson for Congress Committee, 4203 Ponce DeLeon Blvd., Coral Gables, Fla. 33146).

As he did two years ago, Thompson is linking Fascell to the "ultra-liberal state of mind which believes that patriotism is to be considered phony, that thrift is to be scorned, that respect for law is to be selective, that private property is to be converted into public booty and that individuals are to be made secondary to the masses and the blocs within masses."

Fascell, who tries to ignore Thompson, finds that is not easy. When he placed a huge billboard proclaiming, "This is Dante Country" on a heavily traveled Miami highway, Thompson answered with an adjacent billboard, "Sorry, Dante . . . but this is everybody's country—Mike." The red-faced Fascell reportedly cancelled plans for some 100 other "Dante Country" billboards that were to cover the district.



MIKE THOMPSON

Idaho Senate Contest

Hansen vs. Church

Eight summers ago the political star of Idaho's Frank Church was soaring high. Pundits discussed the youthful solon as a possible vice presidential nominee. Party leaders selected him to keynote the Democratic National Convention, the youngest man in history so honored.

But Frank Church will pass up this summer's convention. He will be found not in Chicago but in the towns and hamlets of rural Idaho, fighting to keep the Senate seat he has occupied for 12 years.

Church faces a deadly serious challenge from Republican Rep. George V. Hansen, the strapping conservative from the 2nd Congressional District.

Hansen was first elected in 1964, the

only Northern Republican to oust an incumbent Democrat that year. Two years later, he demonstrated that 1964 had not been a fluke, as he received more than 70 per cent of the vote and ran an astounding 32,000 votes ahead of the successful GOP gubernatorial nominee.

When party leaders asked him last year to give up his "safe" seat to take on Church, he did so without hesitation. Polls indicate an extremely tight race, with Church currently holding a narrow lead that Hansen's hard campaigning is expected to close. (Hansen for Senate Committee, P.O. Box 418, Boise, Idaho.)

The issues are clearly drawn. Church is a knee-jerk liberal whose ADA rating is 85 points higher than Hansen's (92 to 7). Church is expected to receive



GEORGE HANSEN

heavy out-of-state support from organized labor and the Washington-based Council for a Livable World, a far-out peace group that is bankrolling Viet Nam doves from coast to coast.

Church has been a loud critic of

Florida Senate Contest

Gurney vs. Collins

"It's 1966 all over again." That's the way a top Florida Democrat put it recently when asked about the crucial Senate battle that pits liberal Democrat LeRoy Collins against conservative Republican Ed Gurney.

Two years ago Florida Democrats waged a savage gubernatorial primary, with liberal Robert King High finally defeating Gov. Hayden Burns in a no-holds-barred run-off. The intra-party wounds never did heal and Republican Claude Kirk waltzed to November victory, receiving heavy support from Burns' backers.

When three-term Sen. George Smathers announced that he would not seek re-election, the stage was set for another Democratic blood bath. Former Gov. LeRoy Collins, a liberal, plunged into the fray. So did State Attorney General Earl Faircloth, a conservative, and two minor candidates.

Collins won 49.3 per cent of the vote in the May 7 primary, then "took off the gloves" in the ensuing run-off against Faircloth. Assailing Faircloth as a "dangerous opportunist" who "shifts his stands" from day to day, Collins eked out the narrowest of victories, receiving 50.1 per cent of the vote.

The Faircloth forces demanded a recount and it was not until last week that a divided Florida Supreme Court rejected their plea and certified Collins the victor by 2,293 votes out of more than 800,000 cast. The court ruling was 4 to 3.

Faircloth has said only that he will vote for his party's nominee. He has refused to endorse Collins by name or to work for him. And Faircloth supporters throughout the state are flocking to the candidacy of Republican Gurney. "The phone doesn't stop ringing, we're getting so many Faircloth people," a Gurney strategist said last week.

The Democratic split—coupled with Gurney's own political appeal—gives the GOP an excellent chance of victory. *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Congressional Quarterly* put the articulate three-term congressman in front. The *Orlando Sun's* political editor terms Gurney a "prohibitive" favorite.

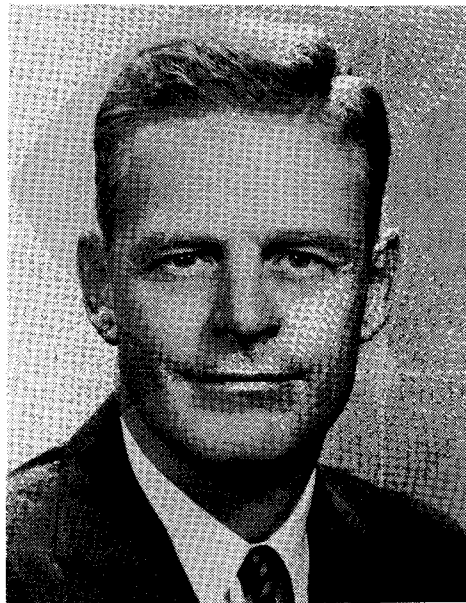
Gurney was first elected to the House

This is the first installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, Human Events will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

U.S. action in Viet Nam, first speaking out in an exclusive 1964 interview given *Ramparts*, the radical-left journal. That interview, in which Church predicted that U.S. escalation would bring Red China into the fray, was reprinted in a 1965 booklet entitled, "The Conscience of the Senate."

This 26-page pamphlet was published by Marzani and Munsell, a firm specializing in pro-Communist tracts and headed by veteran leftist Carl Marzani.

In recent months Church has soft-pedaled Viet Nam and has attempted to establish an image acceptable to moderates and conservatives. On repeated occasions he has spoken out against government waste, particularly in foreign aid. But diligent research of his voting record fails to turn up a single occasion on which Church opposed the aid program.



EDWARD GURNEY

six years ago. He was re-elected twice by overwhelming margins and won the GOP nomination earlier this year by 4 to 1. Handsome and well-spoken—"a political Charlton Heston," says one Florida correspondent—Gurney is handicapped chiefly by the fact that many Florida voters don't know him.

Polls conducted by both parties indicate that while Collins is a household name throughout the state, Gurney is well known only in his own congressional district. A massive advertising campaign will be launched in mid-July to convince voters "It's Time for Gurney." The GOP nominee will appear frequently on TV, a medium he uses especially well, and Gurney strategists have mapped the "most imaginative billboard campaign" in state history.

Incumbent Smathers tells friends that Gurney is far out in the lead. A Republican tide appears to be running across Florida and the nomination of Richard Nixon should put the Sunshine State in the GOP presidential column.

But Gurney is taking no chances as he returns home at least once a week to argue his case. "This election," he says, "is vitally important, not to me, but to Florida and the two-party system throughout the South." (Gurney for Senate Committee: 600 East Washington St., Orlando, Fla.)

Detailing the Poverty Scandal

By ALICE WIDENER

Let us hope there does not breathe in our native land a citizen with soul so dead that he or she doesn't want to help poor people. The problem is how best to do so. More and more, it is becoming clear that the JFK-LBJ way isn't the best way. In the poverty program, most of the money goes to bureaucrats, leechers, revolutionists and just plain crooks—not to the deserving poor.

Only two years ago New York City was rocked with a scandal in Mobilization for Youth, a multi-million-dollar program in which a hard core of hard-hearted Communists and spendthrift social workers got financial and political control. Now in spring 1968, New York City is again rocked with a poverty program scandal, this time the Neighborhood Youth Corps. District attorneys in four boroughs are preparing reports with charges of payroll padding, cashing of checks made out to fictitious persons, widespread stealing through "petty cash," and other criminal practices. Before the probe is ended, investigators say the thefts will run into millions.

How and why such scandals are becoming a matter of routine in the poverty program is spelled out in a new book by Shirley Scheibla, *Poverty Is Where the Money Is*, published by Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y. The author is Washington correspondent for *Barron's* National Business and Financial Weekly. Her book is crammed with facts and presents such a damning case that it is bound to be examined in detail on Capitol Hill.

In an introduction to her book, Mrs. Scheibla writes, "The War on Poverty is one of the most expensive, scandal-ridden and revolutionary programs ever undertaken by the United States government. . . . As this study will show, they

[the scandals] are largely the result of a poorly prepared program launched on a crash basis for political gain."

The "War on Poverty" began on the premise that poverty in the most prosperous nation in the world constitutes an overwhelming problem which must be dealt with on a crash basis, even though, as Mrs. Scheibla explains, "no one could be sure of the number of the poor, the causes of their poverty, or the means of ending it. Both the executive and legislative branches of government ostensibly assumed that expensive action was essential to deal with the problem on which they had inadequate knowledge. . . . At any rate, the nation plunged pell mell into a crash program to carry out untried and revolutionary ideas without adequate consideration or even preliminary testing on a small scale."

One of the things that should have been tested on a small scale instead of a huge one was the disastrous Job Corps. But its failure might have been worth the taxpayers' sacrifice. "The Job Corps did accomplish something worthwhile," reports Shirley Scheibla. "It focused public attention on the faults of the public schools and the neglect of vocational education and training."

Recently a Harlem aspirant for the congressional seat formerly held by Adam Clayton Powell said, "There is not a single training school in Harlem." That is the trouble there and almost everywhere in Negro communities. It also is the trouble with almost all the able-bodied poor people. Their standard of living could be raised through proper vocational and technical training and we ought to quit handing out billions for unworkable schemes.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Chicago OEO Has Appointed Ousted Georgia Poverty Aide

The Office of Economic Opportunity, a linchpin in President Johnson's "Great Society" planning, has again demonstrated the shortsightedness of a sprawling government bureaucracy.

A recent example of OEO's bungling was the appointment of one Charles D. Hughes Jr., as executive director of the Cook County (Chicago) Office of Economic Opportunity. Such an appointment would not normally raise eyebrows, but the record of Mr. Hughes is not one designed to give taxpayers any confidence in the operations of OEO.

The press release announcing Hughes' Chicago appointment carries the following claim: "As director of the Northeast Georgia poverty program, he made several imaginative and outstanding contributions to the community action field. . . ."

Award-winning investigatory reporting by the Athens (Ga.) *Banner-Herald*, however, tells a different story. The revelations of publisher N.S. Hayden and several reporters raise serious doubts about the quality of Hughes' alleged "contributions."

Hughes had served as the executive director of ACTION, Inc. (Area Committee to Improve Opportunities Now), serving six northern Georgia counties. Although ACTION is a private group, it was operated at public expense, since the bulk of its funds come from OEO.

While Hughes headed ACTION, however, the group acquired a bad reputa-

tion among many citizens of the area and, according to one former staff member, apparently became a center of "hate-whiteness" agitation. Although ACTION was, under OEO guidelines, supposed to concern itself with problems of poverty, on at least one occasion the group used the free intra-university mail service of the University of Georgia to solicit support for the agency.

Because of these and other charges leveled at ACTION, the regional "War on Poverty" office investigated the organization. The probe drew fire from Hughes, who had been having differences with the regional office for months.

Among other findings in its November 1967 report, the regional office declared that there was "wide evidence of ineffective administrative leadership and of malfunctioning, if not non-functioning, board participation on critical matters" and that "the image of the agency in the community as a whole is not a desirable image."

ACTION did not take the steps necessary to remedy the many deficiencies cited by the OEO report, whereupon OEO refused to allocate further funds for the operation of ACTION. The ACTION board of directors, in December 1967, fired Hughes.

Despite this less than impressive record in Georgia, the national Office of Economic Opportunity has nevertheless now allowed Hughes to take over the direction of the "War on Poverty" in the nation's second largest county.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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SPECIAL COUNSEL by William A. Rusher (Arlington House, 304 pages, \$6.)

"After seven tranquil years with a prestigious Wall Street law firm, William A. Rusher joined the legal staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. He thus exchanged the quiet life for 'savage controversy, charge and counter-charge, heated denials, shouting headlines, popping flashbulbs'—in short, the cacophony of abuse and malediction reserved for those assigned to investigate Communist skulduggery. He served for 17 months, in 1956-57, and this is the time-segment he describes in *Special Counsel*—an important book as recent history, highly pertinent to the present, and fascinating reading.

"... Those 17 months compassed a lot of significant investigations and staff studies. From among them Mr. Rusher has selected seven for detailed narration, because of the light they throw on Communist methods and motives; but a few, plainly, made the Rusher hit-parade for 1956-57 also for their exceptional human drama. To all of them, he brings a lawyer's competence in organizing evidence and a natural writer's skill in depicting the people on both sides of the confrontations as well as the ambience of the period.

"Taken together, and rounded out in generalized chapters of analysis, these episodes add up to a true cross-section of the life and labors of a major congressional committee inquiring into Communist activities. *Special Counsel* thus provides an intimate behind-the-scenes view of an enterprise normally seen only in the distorting mirrors of left-liberal invective."—By Eugene Lyons in *National Review*

AMERICA'S POLITICAL DILEMMA by Gottfried Dietze (The Johns Hopkins Press, 298 pages, \$7.95)

"This book is an analysis of the theory of Popular Sovereignty as this idea has worked itself out in the American experience since 1789. It takes a somber view of these events, arguing that the development has been away from the libertarian ideals of the Framers of the Constitution toward a domestic policy which transgresses individual liberties and a foreign policy which pursues a will-o'-the-wisp at a cost which is enormous—however measured. This is a scholar's book, closely reasoned and well documented; but its thesis will displease many in the academic community because it refuses obsequence to the shibboleth of 'democracy.' . . . The serious student of public affairs, however, will find this book helpful as he surveys the present mess and wonders how we got this way. . . ."—From the *Freeman*

THE JEWELER'S EYE: A Book of Irresistible Political Reflections by William F. Buckley Jr. (G. P. Putman's Sons, 378 pages, \$6.95)

"For those who enjoy William F. Buckley's writing, . . . he and his publisher have provided a bountiful feast. It consists of selections, by William Targ, editor-in-chief of Putnam's, from about everything that Buckley has written under his byline in the last five years, excluding books and speeches. . . .

"[The topics] . . . cover the thoughts and attitudes of the author, self-described as 'a perfectly average, middle-aged American, with . . . a jeweler's eye for political truths.' Whether or not the reader will find in these selections his own concept of the truth, political or otherwise, is ir-

relevant. Whatever Buckley writes is honestly composed, as he sees it through his 'jeweler's eye.' But more to the point is how it is written and he writes extremely well, reflecting a studious respect for the English language, a humor, lightly sardonic, that many enjoy and a relentless search for the buncombe, the lack of logic and the absurdities of those at whom he directs his shaft. . . ."—From the *Washington Star*

CHARLES PERCY OF ILLINOIS by David Murray (Harper & Row, 178 pages, \$5.95)

"This publisher is more fortunate than those coming out with books on Romney; at least Percy is still politically alive as a potential vice presidential candidate. But the book is humdrum and dead, an altogether routine campaign biography."—From *Christian Century*

VICTORY AT HIGH TIDE: The Inchon-Seoul Campaign by Robert Debs Heintz Jr. (Lippincott, 315 pages, \$8.95)

"Gen. MacArthur's amphibious landing at Inchon, launched less than three months after the Korean War started, was one of the most fabulous military operations of all time. In a bold stroke of lightning speed, MacArthur abolished the imminent prospect of United Nations defeat, cancelled the need for contingency planning to get the troops off the peninsula, thrashed the North Korean invaders, regained South Korea, and restored the status quo.

"Only a master, a genius could have carried it off. For the risks attending the operation made it seem reckless rather than bold, foolhardy rather than smart. What saved it, of course, was its smashing success.

"When is a gamble of this sort justified? When it succeeds.

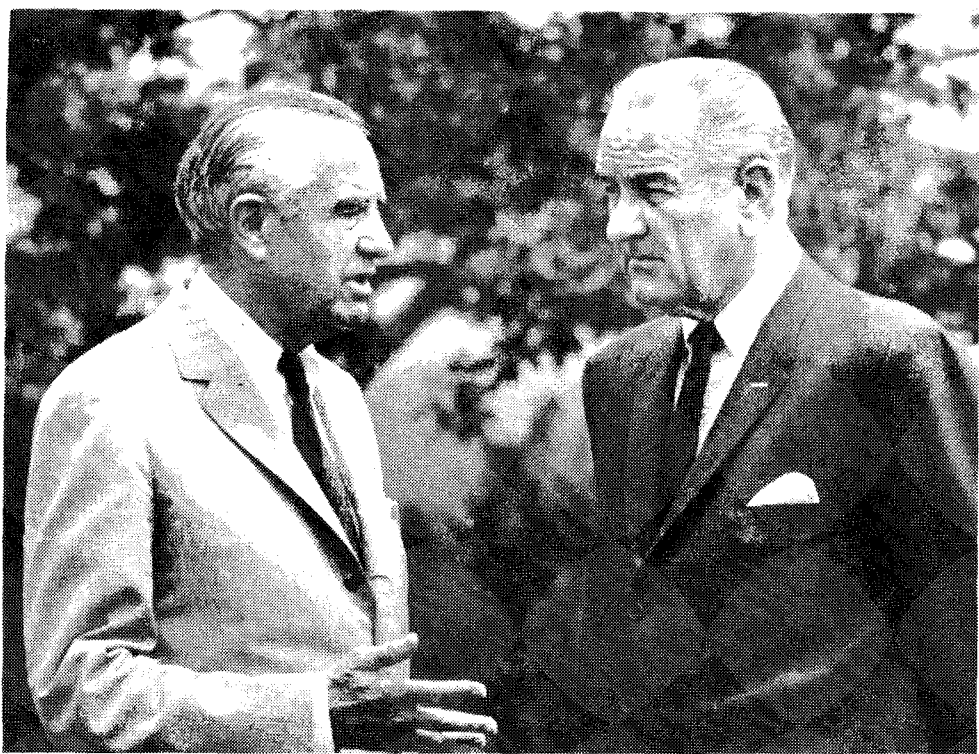
"The police action that seemed about to turn into a long war appeared to be ended by Inchon. Suddenly, all was right in the world, so right that hardly a murmur opposed MacArthur's movement across the 38th parallel into North Korea—to defeat the enemy once and for all, to reunite Korea, and to re-establish peace. . . ."—By Martin Blumenson in the *Washington Evening Star*

WITNESS by Whittaker Chambers (Regnery, 808 pages, \$3.95)

"This is a most appropriate time for . . . the re-publication in paperback of the late Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*—that classic among classics of one man's entrapment in, escape from and exposure of the scourge of our modern world—communism, its ideology, its practices, its complete debasement of the individual.

"It was Whittaker Chambers' testimony which convicted Alger Hiss—Whittaker Chambers, a kindly and brilliant man who was courier for a Soviet spy ring. But Chambers, unlike Hiss, began to see with horror and loathing the evil ideology in which he had entangled himself. . . .

"*Witness* not only tells a moving, fascinating and exciting story, but is as significant, if not more so, now as when it was first issued. Certainly it should be read and re-read by every American under 40 years of age."—From *America's Future*



Negotiator Averell Harriman confers with the President on his recent return to the United States for discussions on the Paris peace talks.

The Peace Talks Are Immoral

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

I cry out against the immorality of the so-called peace conference in Paris. It is a fraud upon the American people. It is a betrayal of our allies. It is an abandonment of our American commitment to peace and justice.

In order to gain the domestic political fruits of peace seeking, the President has escalated the killing in Viet Nam. When he accepts that result, it is no extenuation to contend that he did not intend it. In stopping the bombing of commercial and industrial centers of North Viet Nam, the President has given important advantage to the enemy. His action is the direct cause of the intensified enemy aggression and of our increased casualties.

A few months ago our news media were filled with moralistic protests against U.S. bombing of Hanoi. Even though our attacks were limited to military targets, the incidental injury to civilians was denounced as immoral.

Today our news media report the random attack of Viet Cong rockets upon the civilians of Saigon. Where are our moralists now? They are silent. They are capable only of criticizing the United States, never of criticizing Hanoi. It is as though the angels, by some excess of charity, had become capable of praising only the devil.

Who can defend the morality of subjecting the people of Saigon to death and destruction while the criminal authors of these attacks enjoy an immunity extended to them by President Johnson? Who can believe that extending such odds to the enemy will weaken his determination to achieve a military victory? Are we in this war to protect the victims of aggression or to protect the aggressors? Our leaders display a strange reluctance to hurt the enemy and a shocking readiness to accept his punishing attacks.

The President has lost his resolution. He has wilted under the appeasement policies pressed by his White House advisers. In 1965, after the Viet Cong bombed American installations in Saigon and Pleiku, the President retaliated by bombing North Viet Nam. He said that the enemy could not be allowed to resort to such tactics without retribution. He does not talk that way today.

The wanton attacks on Saigon continue and the enemy boasts that they will be increased. In Paris, Ambassador

Harriman makes a weak protest. He assures the enemy that his protest is not a threat and that the United States will keep talking to the very end—when ever that may be.

President Johnson is so fearful of losing the political advantage of peace talks in an election year that he does not dare to take the military measures which would deter the rocket attacks. He fears the propaganda advantage which Hanoi would gain by breaking off the peace talks and condemning the United States. He lacks the courage to break off the attacks and condemn the North Viet Nam response to his peace offerings.

Our fighting men are offered as burnt sacrifices to the god of peace. What a mockery of peace making this is! The more the President talks of peace, the more the war escalates. This has been the uniform pattern of his Administration.

The tragedy for the nation is that the President and he alone holds the power to end this war quickly. He made the erroneous decisions which caused the escalation. Only the President can reverse these decisions and set us on the true path to peace.

Peace is the product of military victory. It is not a product of negotiation. Negotiation can only confirm what the battlefield has settled.

Gen. Westmoreland says that military victory is not possible in Viet Nam because of our national policy against expanding the war. The press interpreted his statement as a call for more American combat forces. That was not its significance.

The national policy against expanding the war is the Johnson euphemism for his grant of sanctuary to North Viet Nam in Laos, in Cambodia and in North Viet Nam. It is a paradox beyond Administration comprehension that the war can be limited only by extending our offensive into the base areas from which the enemy forces are operating. You can't beat the enemy when you can't reach him.

Justice, morality, loyalty to our allies and the self-respect of the American people all demand that the United States kick over the peace table now and, as a minimum, resume intensive bombing of all military targets in North Viet Nam.

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Shriver's New Empire-Building

From the Richmond News Leader

A few months ago the word went forth from Washington to American Embassies throughout the world: Cut down on expenses. Diplomatic staffs were to be reduced when possible, and every effort was to be made to effect savings in staff spending.

Sargent Shriver, who became U.S. ambassador to France not long ago, evidently never got the word. Although



Sargent Shriver seems to have picked up some bad spending habits from his tenure as "War on Poverty" director.

the American Embassy in Paris is one of the largest and most expensive of all U.S. diplomatic headquarters abroad, Ambassador Shriver has requested the addition of four new employees to his Paris staff.

One of these would be a bilingual personal social secretary to Mrs. Shriver, whom the ambassador describes as very active socially.

A second would be a personal public relations officer for the ambassador, although his predecessors have relied on United States Information Agency personnel for that purpose.

A third would be a personal staff assistant to the ambassador.

The fourth would be an additional chauffeur, although the Paris Embassy motor pool already has 26 drivers.

At least one congressman, H. R. Gross of Iowa, finds Mr. Shriver's request incredible, especially when the federal government needs to cut its spending to the bone. However, Mr. Shriver's empire-building proclivities should come as no surprise, considering that before he was named ambassador, he was director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, the greatest bureaucratic monstrosity of them all.



Ten Years of ACA

By REP. GERALD R. FORD (R.-Mich.)

June 27, 1968, marked the 10th anniversary of the Americans for Constitutional Action. During these past 10 years the ACA has done much to alert more people to significant issues.



All too often, people are urged to follow the prevailing dogma without analyzing its underlying rationale or its practicality. Far too many people are led to believe in the infallibility of the federal government. The ACA, on the other hand, has stood up to those who proclaim what are the fashionable liberal beliefs. By presenting contrary arguments, the ACA often sheds light on controversial issues and thereby enables our democracy to function more effectively. Unless all arguments are considered before making a decision, particularly a decision which can affect millions of Americans, our democracy falters. We ought not to accept ideas on faith. We ought only to act from understanding based on a careful study of all arguments.

The ACA has done much to contribute to the understanding of many issues. It has much to be proud of. I for one, welcome its contribution.

TV and Violence

By REP. ROBERT MICHEL (R.-Ill.)

The repeated acts of violence such as rioting, looting, burning and assassination, together with the dramatic increase in the over-all crime rate in recent years, has become the nation's No. 1 domestic problem. The President has appointed a special Commission on Violence made up of outstanding citizens and public servants; however, I am concerned that there are no representatives from the motion picture industry or the television industry on the panel. It seems to me that the constant stream of violence pouring forth from the movie and television screens must be considered as one of the contributing factors to the violence which has become so much a part of our national life.

Help for Indians

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S.D.)

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 10218, which would solve the problem of poverty on Indian reservations by granting a tax incentive to any industry which would move onto an Indian reservation and provide employment for the Indian people.



It is the answer and the only answer to Indian poverty. It is the answer and only answer to creating incentive to improve the individual Indian's outlook on life.

The program proved itself in Puerto Rico where government agencies reported in "The Stricken Land" that the island today has the highest per capita income of any Latin American country only because a similar tax incentive was provided. This can be done on every Indian reservation in the country. These

people can lift themselves up by their own bootstraps if a tax incentive is provided.

The Department of the Interior in its report of June 6 on HR 10218 tells Congress that it is doing a tremendous job of getting industry onto reservations without such an incentive. There are approximately 240 Indians employed on reservations in South Dakota through industries for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs was at least partly responsible. With an Indian population of some 35,000-240 is a pretty sad record.

Defense Dept. Power

By REP. ROBERT DENNEY (R.-Neb.)

The recent report of the Republican Coordinating Committee's Task Force on National Security brings to light the isolated and dominant control of defense policies assumed by the office of the secretary of defense since 1961. The result is that the military experts frequently have been overruled or ignored. Today, the defense secretary's office is a separate empire, rather than a small and efficient control unit. The National Security Task Force stressed, in particular, the need to revive the National Security Council as it existed in the Eisenhower Administration as a policy-making instrument.

Value of Education

By SEN. JOHN STENNIS (D.-Miss.)

During this time when a milestone is reached by all our students at every level, by graduation or promotion to higher studies, it is well to think about the values of formal education and also the other values that make life worthwhile.



There has never been a time in our history when the members of the young generation have had a chance to make so valuable a contribution to our society and to our government.

If sought, an opportunity for service can actually be found by everyone who has made preparation by training or education. Nevertheless, there has crept into the thinking of many people throughout the nation a concept that the government, or someone, owes the individual a living; further, that the community, the school, the church, the police or society is the cause of the individual's wrongdoing, and, therefore, no penalty will have to be paid by the wrongdoer.

This idea is not only dangerous, it is deadly. Unless stopped, it will be our nation's undoing. Personal accountability for self support is the only valid rule of conduct in a free society. This is the only course that will keep us free.

Poor March Effects

By REP. CLARENCE MILLER (R.-Ohio)

We in Congress are aware of the plight of the poor and are doing all we can to help alleviate this problem. But let me ask you, what has the Poor People's March done to help the poor? These are the facts: Since the demonstration started, the District of Columbia has lost approximately \$40 mil-

lion in tourist trade. In April and May alone, the District lost \$2 million in sales tax because of the reluctance of tourists to come to Washington. This loss will undoubtedly hurt many of the low-income workers and underprivileged residents in and around the capital. Thus, ironically, many are being hurt more than helped by this demonstration. There was a time when Americans took pride in their Nation's Capital. They brought their children here to admire it—the Capitol, the White House, the Lincoln Memorial. I have received many letters and phone calls from the constituents of my district asking me whether it is safe to come to Washington. Many groups, such as high school senior classes, have stayed away due to the situation that exists. Hotel trade is off as much as 50 per cent in some cases. Let us make Washington once again the showcase of our nation, a city which all our citizens will be anxious and proud to visit; a capital in which the normal legislative process can function without a threat of intimidation.

How to Avoid Deficits

By REP. WILLIAM COLMER (D.-Miss.)

Some 15 years ago, concerned as I was then about deficit spending, I predicted that the day of reckoning and decision would come.



On that occasion I respectfully submitted to the House a blueprint to avoid it. I have constantly followed the program to the best of my ability.

That program is as follows:

If the Congress is to regain its constitutional control of the purse strings; if the budget is to be balanced; if we are ever to liquidate this enormous debt, I respectfully suggest and urge that the following formula be adopted:

- Our legislative committees, as well as Committees on Appropriations, must cease reporting out bills except those which are absolutely essential to our economy and national defense.
- Every member of this body must recognize that the objective of balancing the budget is his most important assignment.
- Sectionalism, partisan politics, responsiveness to highly organized minorities must give way to the national need for a sound financial policy.
- Every dollar appropriated must be considered as carefully as if it were coming out of the pockets of the members themselves, as indeed the members' proportionate share is.
- Our congressional committees, particularly the Appropriation Committees, must be staffed with an adequate staff of experts equal in efficiency to the staffs of the various governmental agencies who appear before them seeking appropriations.
- The Congress and the country must recognize that financial solvency is as important as military might in preparing ourselves against any potential foreign aggressor, a fact which our military captains should be made to understand.
- Our foreign friends must be made to understand that there is a limit to the resources of America.
- The system of permitting the carryover of unspent funds from the current fiscal year into the new year must be

abandoned. A meticulous study of the 1,200 pages of the President's budget this year will show that the carryover of unspent funds from the current fiscal year will exceed \$60 billion.

- The procurement of military requirements, which constitute more than 50 per cent of our expenditures, must be placed in the hands of trained civilians who appreciate the value of a dollar.

- Finally, the citizens of the Republic, now conscious as never before of the burdens of taxation, must practice the doctrine of states' responsibility as well as states' rights. The practice of looking to Washington for federal aid in civil responsibilities of their own must cease. They must realize that there is no state, county, or city whose financial statement is not sounder than that of the federal government.

Rising Welfare Costs

By REP. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.)

Federal aid to the poor from all agencies this year totals \$24.6 billion. In 1963 the amount was \$12.5 billion, or about 50 per cent less. In 1960 the figure was \$9.5 billion. The budget request for the next fiscal year totals \$27.7 billion in federal aid to the poor. These facts were presented to the House recently by George Mahon, Democratic chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Mr. Mahon said he released this information "in an effort to lend some focus to the fiscal implications and dimensions of the recommendations in the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders." The chairman also reported that federal outlays for health rose from \$4.1 billion in 1961 to \$13.9 billion in 1968. For education, training and related programs the increase was from \$3.3 billion to \$11.6 billion. Federal aid to urban areas went from \$7.5 billion in 1961 to \$19.2 billion this year. These are sizable amounts and sizable increases which we cannot ignore in any consideration of the taxpayer's responsibility in social service.

Curbing Criminals

By REP. DON BROTZMAN (R.-Colo.)

Perhaps we can take the recent Supreme Court decision concerning the police officer's right to stop and search suspected criminals as an indication that the Court has finally seen the handwriting on the wall and is awakening to America's need to return to a solid foundation of law and order. To insure that this historic decision is implemented as soon as possible, the bill I have introduced provides authority for an officer to stop and detain a person for up to 20 minutes if he has substantial reason to suspect that the individual is involved in a crime. The officer then may search any detained person for a weapon to the extent necessary to protect himself and others from injury.

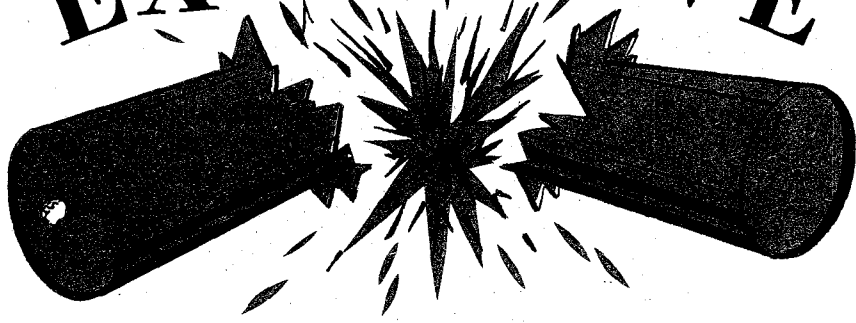


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Behind the Tax Hike

How Your Money Is Wasted

By JAMESON G. CAMPAIGNE

President Johnson has asked for almost \$4 billion extra in needed defense funds. At the same time he has demanded that Congress cut no more than \$6 billion from his \$186-billion budget while increasing our taxes by \$10 billion, taking 10 per cent more in income taxes from us.

So even if Congress cuts \$6 billion from the President's huge budget and passes the \$4-billion additional proposal for the Viet Nam war, the budget will be just about as big—along with the 10 per cent surtax increase.

Did we really need a tax increase to "balance the budget and stop inflation"? If we do, we will be getting only a tax increase, no real budget cut at all, and no end to inflation. But we don't need it!

If the President reduced his non-defense requests to what they were in 1967 we would save \$11 billion—half enough to balance the budget. If he reduced his requests to what they were in 1966 we would save \$20 billion—more than enough to balance the budget and pay for the Viet Nam war. If he reduced his demands to what they were in 1965, we would save \$29 billion—enough to give us a surplus of \$10 billion in the federal budget.

The President has increased federal spending by \$10 billion a year since 1965. Do we really have to spend all that money to "survive"?

Well, here are some of the things our tax money is spent for. We have 126 people representing us at the United Nations. They cost us \$1.6 million! We spend \$11.2 million to subsidize art! The National Endowment for the Arts gave five grants of \$10,000 apiece to poets to complete some poems. It gave \$10,000 to 11 novelists to write novels. It gave 60 awards of \$5,000 to painters and sculptors "in recognition of outstanding work," plus three more to biographers at \$5,000 each. Also granted were 75 awards of \$500 each for undergraduate architects to study abroad.

The AID program last year found itself with \$400,000 left over, so they bought 1,000 TV sets to send abroad. The OEO granted \$208,741 to the Zuni Indians to improve their jewelry business (the Zunis have been doing over \$2 million a year for years). The Federal Aviation Agency spent \$106,000 of your money to have music piped into its Hawaiian offices disguised as a fire alarm system (which had already been installed).

A grant of \$33,101 was given to the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research to study "a test of husband-wife relationship. The aim is to develop a diagnostic pictorial test of the intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of the role of relationship of husband and wife." For \$33,101?

Your taxes are financing a sobering-up station for alcoholics in Poland. The Food for Freedom program, which spends more than \$1 billion a year, is financing an archeological program in Yugoslavia, a neolithic excavation in Poland, a study of old metal working crafts in Pakistan and of the behavior

of elephants in Ceylon. That ought to keep the hungry world well fed!

The University of Texas (naturally) got \$89,000 from the National Science Foundation to study the sea breeze. The NSF also paid \$22,500 to the Asia Foundation for the travel expenses for Asians, \$9,000 to the American Friends of the Middle East, and \$5,500 to finance the travel of South Africans to the U.S. It also gave \$41,000 of your tax money to Stanford University to study "decision-making in small groups." The NSF ought to know plenty about that already, considering the decision-making it has been making.

The Department of Agriculture spent five years revising pickle standards in order to describe the difference between curved and crooked pickles. The National Institutes of Health spent \$28,755 to study "changing patterns of Moslem family life." The Aerospace Agency gave Ivan Getting, its president, a \$45,000 raise to leave private industry, gave him a \$350,000 life insurance policy, a \$9,000-a-year retirement program and paid \$3,113 to move his yacht from Massachusetts to California!

The vice president of a government-financed research firm, paid \$42,000 plus \$5,000 for expenses, was given another \$22,381 to pay off the mortgage on his estate.

In Springfield, Va., there is a clearing house for federal scientific and technical information only three years old. Its 30,000 square feet are almost full of a half-million scientific reports stacked in piles 15 feet high. About 65,000 more reports are expected this year.

"Research" done by universities, private firms and government agencies is expected to cost us in taxes \$20 billion by 1970. That is enough to eliminate this year's deficit.

The President said, in 1965, that he would cut the federal payroll by 25,000. He increased it by 179,868 and has asked for further increases this year. He has asked for spending increases in virtually every non-defense program for next year: Agriculture, Commerce, HEW, HUD, Interior, Labor, State, Transportation, Treasury, GSA, Civil Service, EEOC (you figure that one out), the arts, the U.S. Information Agency.

The President, through taxes (a 10 per cent surtax taking from you \$10 billion more) and through inflation (it cost you \$11 billion in increased prices last year) is asking you to cut back your expenses to what they were in about 1965 so he can have your taxes. Why doesn't he cut back his non-defense expenses to what they were in 1965 and save that \$29 billion? And balance that budget? And reduce your taxes?

Why not? Because you don't count. You're the one on "laugh-in" who keeps on saying "sock-it-to-me, sock-it-to-me, sock-it-to-me, sock-it-to-me. . . ."

So he does!

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INFLATION DEFINED—"There is no longer any mystery," says steel executive Roger Blough, "about the true causes of inflation. And if I were asked to define them, I would put it this way: When government spends more than it gets, and when labor gets more than it gives, that empty feeling in your pocketbook is inflation."—From the Sarasota Herald Tribune

Mr. Campaigne, author of *American Might and Soviet Myth and Check-Off*, is the award-winning editor of the *Indianapolis Star*.